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## A NEW MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF EDITORS

With the February number of the REVIEW, Professor J. Lloyd Mechem, at present a member of the historical faculty of the University of Michigan, made his debut as a member of the editorial board. He was elected unanimously by the board to take the place of Herbert Ingram Priestley, of the University of California, whose five year term of service as a member of the board expired with the December issue. His associate editors take this occasion to welcome Professor Mechem to this "goodly fellowship", and to assure him that they anticipate much from his scholarship, the evidences of which are many. To Professor Priestley, the board expresses its thanks for his coöperation, help, and encouragement, and its appreciation of his scholarly attainments which are known throughout the Americas. It has been in all ways an honor to be associated with Professor Priestley both because of his intellectual attainments and his outstanding personality. It is hoped that he will always feel that, although his name may not be among the seven editors of the REVIEW, he is still a member of the board.

THE BOARD OF EDITORS.

## SECESSIONIST DIPLOMACY OF YUCATAN

[Paper read at the Hispanic American session of the meeting of the American Historical Association, 1928.]

The people of Yucatan, due to geographic influence, racial peculiarities, and a thousand years or so of governmental isolation, early became separatist in spirit, but the need for protection in a predatory world led them to link up with Mexico after the break with Spain took place. Local patriotism was, however, stronger than dependence upon the Mexican government, a fact resulting in repeated secessions on the part of Yucatan. And it happened that the most deadly foes against whom the state, while temporarily aloof from Mexico, had finally to ask aid were of its own household. When becoming a member of the Mexican federation, the Peninsula, dominated by a mercantile element, had insisted upon and secured a greater degree of local autonomy and lighter national obligations than did the other political units of the country.<sup>1</sup>

All went fairly well until the war with Texas caused the centralist Mexican government to encroach upon Yucatan's special privileges. It introduced the *alcabala*, or sales tax, into Yucatan, increased its tariff rates, conscripted its men to fight against Texas, and imposed other hardships upon the peninsula. Great was Yucatec resentment over these changes, and revolt began in May, 1839.<sup>2</sup> Before the close of the year,

<sup>1</sup> Elegio Ancona, *Historia de Yucatán desde la época más remota hasta nuestros días*, 3rd ed. (Mérida ?, 1917), III. 199-206, 262. In 1829, there was a successful revolt in favor of national centralism, but this was started by drunken officers of the garrison at Campeachy, made up largely of men from Mexico proper, and was by no means representative of the wishes of the civil mercantile part of the population, which furnished the political leaders of Yucatan for a long period. *Ibid.*, pp. 232-247.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 262-263. In the appendices are copies of many important documents.



the department of Yucatan had seceded from Mexico; but its ruling class was not agreed as to future policy. One faction, led by Miguel Barbachano, favored complete independence; another, influenced by Santiago Mendez, a merchant of Campeachy who was elected governor of the state, desired merely to remain out of the union until Mexico should return to federalism and restore to Yucatan its local autonomy and otherwise favored position.

The *Barbachanista* independence element controlled the lower house of the legislature, and on October 1, 1841, passed a resolution declaring Yucatan a republic, free and independent of the Mexican nation; but the senate, due to the influence of Governor Mendez, tabled the declaration of independence.<sup>3</sup> To secure protection against possible attacks from Mexico, the Yucatec government had already turned to the Republic of Texas, formed trade relations with it, and contracted for three Texan naval vessels, which, in return for \$8,000 per month, were to help guard the peninsula against invasion from Mexico.<sup>4</sup>

In December of the same year came Andrés Quintana Roo, agent of Santa Anna—who was again in control of Mexican affairs—to negotiate for Yucatan's return to the national fold. The resulting treaty, signed December 28, 1841, met all of the state's demands.<sup>5</sup> But just after the agreement had been signed, the three vessels promised by Texas arrived at Sisál, Yucatan, in command of Commodore E. H. Moore.<sup>6</sup> Quintana Roo demanded an explanation, whereupon the Yucatec leaders declared that they would break off relations with Texas as soon as Santa Anna's government should have ratified the treaty just made.<sup>7</sup> Commodore Moore proceeded to

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 286-287, 377-382; John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan* (N. Y., 1843), I. 80-83.

<sup>4</sup> George P. Garrison, ed., *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*, in *Annual Report American Historical Association*, 1908, II. 37-38.

<sup>5</sup> Ancona, *Historia de Yucatán*, III. 293.

<sup>6</sup> Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, *ut supra*, II. 38.

<sup>7</sup> Ancona, *Historia de Yucatán*, III. 294.

patrol between Vera Cruz and the peninsula; but as Yucatan's funds were low, and its hopes for reunion were high, after about two months, the Yucatec secretary of war and navy notified Moore that he could withdraw his squadron.<sup>8</sup>

Santa Anna, however, failed to approve Quintana Roo's reunion treaty, and sent a large army to conquer the haughty little state. In the ferocious conflict which followed, the Yucatec secessionists defeated the Mexican forces, thanks largely to aid from the Maya Indians, whom they armed, and the unhealthy climate of the peninsula, which wrought great disaster to the highland Mexicans. The treaty of peace and reunion, signed December 14, 1843, was practically dictated by Yucatan.<sup>9</sup> Very soon, however, the Mexican government began to violate the commercial terms of the agreement, and continued to do so in spite of repeated protests from Yucatan. Hence, on January 1, 1846, the Yucatec assembly again voted for secession. The Mexican dictator, Paredes, on the verge of war with the United States, at once negotiated for Yucatan's return to the union, but as the terms he offered were less favorable than those granted by Santa Anna in December, 1843, Yucatan remained aloof.<sup>10</sup>

In the summer of 1846, Santa Anna, who was scheming for return to power, promised reunion to Barbachano, then governor of Yucatan, on the terms made in December, 1843. Soon afterward, in opposition to Paredes's monarchist aims, Santa Anna pronounced for federalism. These facts led an extraordinary congress of Yucatan to issue a decree in favor of Santa Anna, who shortly afterward gained the upper hand in Mexican politics. Following this, Barbachano secured from him satisfactory terms of reunion, and on November 2, 1846, proclaimed Yucatan's reincorporation with the Mexican Republic. In Campeachy, however, where there was strong feeling against Barbachano as well as opposition to reunion,

<sup>8</sup> Garrison, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, *ut supra*, II. 38-39.

<sup>9</sup> Ancona, *Historia de Yucatán*, III. 295-322.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.



a *pronunciamiento* was issued December 8, 1846, against the return of Yucatan to Mexico. The reasons given were that the war between Mexico and the United States would injure the peninsula because of blockade of ports, and that, moreover, the existing Mexican government could not be depended upon either to maintain stability or to keep its promises. Santiago Mendez, political rival of Barbachano, after brief delay, aligned himself with the Campeachy opposition.<sup>11</sup> Factional strife of unspeakable barbarity followed in Yucatan.<sup>12</sup>

During the early months of the war with Mexico, the American naval forces had not troubled Yucatan; but late in December, 1846, as a result of the proclamation of Yucatan's reunion with Mexico, United States vessels blockaded the port of Laguna and the island of Carmen, on the west side of the peninsula, and prohibited all trade with the rest of Mexico. The Mendez faction, however, explained to the blockading commander its neutrality in the Mexican-United States conflict, secured from him a promise not to make hostile attack on the peninsula, and then sent a commissioner to Washington to ask official recognition of Yucatec neutrality.<sup>13</sup> The person chosen for this diplomatic mission was José Rovira, who had been educated in the United States. Rovira reached Washington late in January and was received unofficially by Secretary of State Buchanan, who promised that Yucatan's full neutrality would be recognized and permission given to trade with United States ports as soon as word was received that the Campeachy faction was in control at Mérida, the capital of Yucatan.<sup>14</sup> At the same conference, Rovira, an ardent ad-

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 332-334; various officially printed decrees, to be found in department of state, Mérida and Sisal, I.

<sup>12</sup> Aneón, *Historia de Yucatán*, p. 335.

<sup>13</sup> Serapio Baqueiro, *Ensayo histórico sobre las revoluciones de Yucatán desde el año de 1840 hasta 1864* (Mérida, 1871-73), I. 184; secretary general of provisional government of Yucatan to secretary of state of the United States, December 28, 1846, in Department of State, Other States, II.

<sup>14</sup> Secretary general of provisional government of Yucatan to secretary of state of the United States, December 28, 1846, Department of State, Other States, II.; James Buchanan, *Works* (Philadelphia, 1890), VII. 222-223.

Just after Rovira had left for Washington, Barbachano was ousted from Mérida by the Campeachy faction, and in July, 1847, Santiago Mendez was elected governor of Yucatan. Control of the government by the neutralist element did not, however, result in relaxation of the blockade by the United States on the coast of Yucatan. On the contrary, due to active contraband trade in arms and ammunition between Laguna and Tabasco, United States authorities took full control of the port and the island of Carmen, but permitted a limited trade under a heavy contributory tariff.<sup>16</sup> This change for the worse, from the viewpoint of Yucatan, took place just after Rovira had left the United States, and on May 12, 1847, he wrote Buchanan from Campeachy calling attention to the hardships placed upon the people of Yucatan by the financial exactions levied upon them at Laguna by United States blockading officers. He understood, he said, that at Vera Cruz and Tampico, which had been hostile to the United States, duties were not levied by the authorities of the latter country.<sup>17</sup> In a letter of June 7, to Nicholas P. Trist, recently sent to Mexico to treat for peace, Rovira repeated these points, asking that Trist try to get his government interested in removing the

<sup>17</sup> Rovira to Buchanan, May 12, 1847, Department of State, Other States, II.



hardships mentioned, adding that with the occupation of Tabasco by United States forces, all necessity for occupying Carmen, except as a precautionary measure, had ended.<sup>18</sup> No reply appears to have been offered to either of these appeals, and United States occupation of the port and island continued as before.

This fact led Governor Mendez to send his son-in-law, Justo Sierra O'Reilly, to the United States to renew the request for relief. On November 24, 1847, Sierra wrote Buchanan from Washington asking that the duties on Yucatec vessels passing between the peninsula and Carmen be abolished and that the blockade of Laguna and the island end. Buchanan replied a month later, stating that the United States could not give up the blockade, since it was believed that the Yucatec authorities would not be able to prevent contraband trade with Tabasco; but he promised that the duties referred to would be abolished; and this was done.<sup>19</sup> After Buchanan had written this letter, however, Commodore Perry, in command of the Gulf squadron, learning that Yucatan was importing the natural products of Tabasco, notified the state authorities through the United States consul that if this trade continued, heavy measures would be taken against Yucatan. The United States government also continued its efforts to prevent Yucatan from importing firearms, which might be sent into Tabasco. These two facts led Sierra to address Buchanan on February 15, 1848, asking that Yucatan's neutrality be respected and made known to all United States officers; and that no impediment be placed in the importation of arms by Yucatan, since they were to be used only for fighting the Indians of the peninsula, who had been supplied with weapons by the British of Belize and were waging warfare against the whites. Sierra also hinted that the British gov-

<sup>18</sup> Rovira to Buchanan, June 7, 1847, Trist Papers, XXIII., Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

<sup>19</sup> *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 40, 30th cong., 1st sess., pp. 5-8; Buchanan, *Works*, VII. 485-486.

ernment, whose activities had recently increased on the Mosquito Coast, desired to get control of Yucatan. This was obviously intended to rouse sympathy for the latter, as was also the commissioner's explanation that the Indian war had done much toward preventing "the final declaration of absolute independence of Yucatan";<sup>20</sup> for there seems to be no evidence that the Mendez faction ever seriously contemplated absolute independence.

A few days after this letter was written the treaty made by Trist with the Mexican authorities at Guadalupe Hidalgo reached Washington and Sierra learned with alarm that its provisions contained no pledge from Mexico not to wreak vengeance upon Yucatan for its irregular conduct. Hence, on February 24, he again wrote Buchanan protesting against the treaty, which he urged would be the ruin of his state, since, with British intrigues to combat and an Indian war on hand, it could not fight Mexico as well. Justice demanded, Sierra declared, that the treaty contain guarantees for Yucatan against the "fury of the Mandarins of Mexico" or permit it to "seek for admission as a free and sovereign state into the vast confederacy of the United States", which it most ardently desired as most advantageous to it.<sup>21</sup>

Buchanan appears to have made no reply to this protest, but Yucatan was already facing as great a peril as Mexican vengeance could have brought. This was the war with the Mayan Indians, who outnumbered the ruling class five to one. To secure the aid of the Mayas against Mexico, and in the civil wars of the peninsula, the Yucatec leaders had made various promises to lighten their burdens; but these pledges had not been kept. Upon coming into office, Governor Mendez tried to collect by force taxes from which the Indians had been promised exemption. The latter, who had long been sullen under oppression, now began to massacre whites and burn towns and plantations in an effort to recover the penin-

<sup>20</sup> Department of State, Special Agents to the United States, 1847.

<sup>21</sup> Sierra to Buchanan, February 24, 1848.



sula for themselves. By the early part of 1848, much of Yucatan was in the hands of the Mayas who were threatening the capital of the state.<sup>22</sup>

The government of Yucatan was in an embarrassing position. It could not ask Mexico for aid. Therefore, Justo Sierra was instructed to appeal to the United States. Accordingly, on March 7, 1848, the Yucatec commissioner wrote Buchanan requesting two thousand troops and the loan of a half million dollars.<sup>23</sup> Receiving no reply, he again wrote on April 3, begging intervention to save the whites of Yucatan, and hinting that unless help came from the United States it might be necessary to ask it of Spain or England.<sup>24</sup> Buchanan had not answered this note by April 18, on which date Sierra repeated his request.

In the sacred name of the living God [he wrote], the affrighted people of Yucatan appeal to the humanity of their happy and more fortunate neighbors, the people of the United States, to save them from utter extermination.

A copy of this letter was published in the New York press. A few days latter Sierra sent Buchanan a communication—dated March 25, 1848—from Governor Mendez, in which the latter stated that he had decided to ask the direct intervention of powerful nations, “offering the dominion and sovereignty” of Yucatan to the nation which would undertake to save it. Because of the great need for quick action he had, he said, appealed to the Spanish and English governments through the captain-general of Cuba and the admiral of Jamaica.<sup>25</sup>

By the time this latest appeal came the whites of Yucatan were in a tragic plight, as the United States naval officers on the spot, as well as Yucatec officials, testified. To the havoc wrought directly by the Indians had been added famine due to

<sup>22</sup> *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 43, 30th cong., 1st sess., pp. 19-20; Carlos R. Menéndez, *Historia del infame y vergonzoso comercio de Indios* (Mérida, 1923), p. 27.

<sup>23</sup> *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 40, 30th cong., 1st sess., pp. 11-12.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

the wasting of the land. The only place safe from the infuriated aborigines was that commanded by guns of United States vessels stationed at Carmen. One officer reported that the coast was black with many thousands of refugee women and children starving to death.<sup>26</sup>

From United States officers came also word of foreign interest in Yucatan's plight. One wrote that the British minister in Mexico was said to have encouraged the Yucatecs to hope that aid might come from England. By the middle of March, 1848, Spanish war vessels from Cuba had brought some arms and ammunition.<sup>27</sup> This fact so roused Lieutenant M. Mason, in command of a United States vessel off Campeachy, that he wrote the secretary of war on April 2, 1848, referring to the matter and to the Yucatec desire for annexation to the United States. "Now it comes to this", he declared, "unless we do it *Spain will*".<sup>28</sup>

These reports, added to the appeals from Sierra and Mendez, stirred Buchanan and Polk to serious consideration of Yucatan's request. Various cabinet sessions were devoted to discussion of the question, and it was agreed that Yucatan must not be permitted to fall into the hands of a foreign monarchy;<sup>29</sup> but the consent of congress was necessary to furnish the aid and protection asked. Hence, on April 29, 1848, President Polk sent a message to congress asking it to take such measures as might seem expedient to "prevent Yucatan

<sup>26</sup> *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 43, 30th cong., 1st sess., p. 20 ff; Buchanan, *Works*, VIII. 56-57. The local authorities of the town of Carmen now petitioned the officers of the United States blockading squadron not to withdraw and leave the population to the mercy of the aborigines. *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 43, 30th cong., 1st sess., pp. 22-23.

<sup>27</sup> *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 43, 30th cong., 1st sess., pp. 20-21.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28. On March 13, 1848, Commodore Perry wrote Secretary of War Mason: "I have it direct from the French Consul here, that the Government of Yucatan has more than twice within a few years back applied for permission to hoist the French flag and to become a French colony, but their proffers have as often been declined". *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>29</sup> James K. Polk, *Diary* (Chicago, 1910), III. 430 ff; Buchanan, *Works*, VII. 56-57, 377.



from becoming a colony of any European power'', and to save the white race from extermination or expulsion from the peninsula.<sup>30</sup> On May 4, 1848, Hannegan, chairman of the senate foreign relations committee, reported a bill to enable the president to take temporary military occupation of Yucatan and to send supplies to the white population.<sup>31</sup> Two weeks of vigorous debate followed, in which supporters of the bill, like Hannegan, Cass, and Jefferson Davis, denounced British designs on Yucatan—which were probably non-existent—and openly favored permanent United States control of the peninsula; while opponents, led by John Calhoun, declared that the situation in Yucatan did not come under the Monroe Doctrine. On May 17, however, the bill was abruptly dropped due to a press report that a treaty had been made between the whites of Yucatan and one of the leading Indian tribes.<sup>32</sup>

As a matter of fact, the peace, which was very humiliating to the whites, had been made on April 23. It had stipulated that Mendez—whom the Mayas especially hated—give way to Barbachano as governor of Yucatan. This change had taken place, for the whites in their desperation had begun to coöperate; but the Indians had within a few days resumed fighting, evidently in spite of the efforts of their chief, Jacinto Pat. The desolating warfare was again under way with renewed vigor when the senate dropped the bill for the relief of the harried white minority of the peninsula.<sup>33</sup> Hence, Governor Barbachano appealed to Cuba for more aid; Mendez, now in Campeachy, urged upon Commodore Perry the needs of Yucatan, and induced the French consul at that port to write Perry also.<sup>34</sup> On May 23, and again on June 16, Sierra wrote Buchanan calling attention to the real state of affairs in Yucatan and urging that help be sent to save the whites from

<sup>30</sup> James D. Richardson, ed., *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (1899), IV. 581-583.

<sup>31</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 30th cong., 1st sess., XIX. appendix, 591.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 591-643, *passim*.

<sup>33</sup> Ancona, *Historia de Yucatán*, IV. and V. (two vols. in one), 454-461, *passim*.

<sup>34</sup> *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 49, 30th cong., 1st sess., pp. 6-9.

utter destruction. But the United States government failed to act, partly because it had by now made peace with Mexico;<sup>35</sup> and no official help came from England or Spain.

Private and voluntary aid was sent, however, chiefly from the United States and from Mexico City—where resident Yacutecs were leaders in the relief work. During the war with the United States the secessionist spirit had been rampant in Mexico and a large portion of the population besides that of Yucatan had come far short of whatever glory was found in true loyalty to the unscrupulous adventurers who had been at the national helm. Hence, the Mexicans were—for the time—moved by pity, rather than resentment, and sent what help they could to the unhappy Yucatecs.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, the militaristic monarchist party, whose vengeance Yucatan feared, was temporarily eliminated from the Mexican government. In May, 1848, José Joaquin Herrera, an honest, kindly man, who had opposed the war with the United States, again became president of the country and set about getting more military aid for Yucatan, as the demoralized Mexican forces were inadequate. An attempt to hire troops from the United States proved futile, however.<sup>37</sup> Hence, the war of castes in Yucatan dragged on until 1853, when, through the good offices of the superintendent of Belize, to whom the Mayas had appealed, the leading chiefs agreed to give up fighting.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3; Sierra to Buchanan, June 16, 1848, Department of State, Special Agents to the United States, 1847.

<sup>36</sup> Baqueiro, *Ensayo historico*, II. 563-580. In the United States a volunteer regiment of about two hundred and fifty men was formed for fighting in Yucatan, in response to the offer of Governor Barbachano of eight dollars per month wages and a half section of land at the end of service. The men were in service for three or four months, during which they were paid but ten dollars in all, due to the poverty of the Yucatee treasury. Hence, at their own request, they were disbanded and returned home. *Niles' Register*, LXXV. 205.

<sup>37</sup> Buchanan, *Works*, VIII. 155.

<sup>38</sup> Ancona, *Historia de Yucatán*, IV. and V. 189-249, 473-478.



Long before this, however (on August 17, 1848), Yucatan had unconditionally returned to the Mexican national fold, a sadder and a wiser state.<sup>39</sup>

Yucatan's frank insistence upon protection of its economic activities against Mexican encroachments caused severe contemporary criticism. The state's self-justification may be given in the words of Justo Sierra to Buchanan. The Yucatec leaders, he wrote, felt it

their first duty to see to their own preservation, provided it be not by base or dishonorable means, and certainly it is not base or dishonorable to resist participation in the fatal results of a war on the side of those from whom Yucatan has received nothing but repeated acts of injustice.<sup>40</sup>

This view is not far from that held under somewhat similar conditions by John Hancock, who, like Mendez, was a prosperous merchant opposed to unfavorable navigation laws and arbitrary taxation; and it bears close kinship to the basic motives of such nullificationist and secessionist leaders in the United States as Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts, John Calhoun of South Carolina, and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi.

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 466-468.

<sup>40</sup> *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 40, 30th cong., 1st sess., p. 7.

## FACTORS OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD IN SOUTH AMERICA WORKING TOWARD A NEW RÉGIME

[Paper read at the Hispanic American session of the meeting of the American Historical Association, 1928.]

The Spanish-American Revolution was neither a creation *ex-nihilo* nor the absolute imposition of a foreign ideal. Life is a continuous process. However clear cut and strongly differentiated the stages of this process may be, there is a continuity in the working forces and in the spiritual principles which in the end are decisive. Most people are well aware of the contrast which Hispanic America presents between colonial times and the independent or republican epoch. The informing principles of the latter are civil and political equality, popular sovereignty, and the division of powers. Social and political hierarchy, absolute sovereignty of an idolized king, confusion of powers, and centralization were the basis of the colonial structure. The former colonial society had a legality of privilege; the present republican society should have a legality of equal rights. But one must look beyond the legal point of view and study real life and real factors. We find, in our present political reality, bureaucratic and economic hierarchies, supremacy of military or civil leaders, intellectual or economic oligarchies, and bureaucratic despotisms. In the colonial society, besides the unjust and privileged structure accepted by the laws together with many aggravations of privilege in practical life, we find certain moral factors that were the foundation of new life and new institutions. Selfish motives and economic forces have undermined the influence of the great and generous political ideas of the revolution. On the other hand very important moral principles and a deep ethical and juridical tradition attempted during colonial times



to lessen the injustice of the political system. The great mistake in the interpretation of Hispanic American independence and the political evolution of the nineteenth century has been the neglect of the working factors which were laying unconsciously the foundations of a new epoch. In spite of the difference in inspirations and the apparent contradiction in attendant circumstances, there is a certain connection between the highest human ideals of the revolution and the deep and silent moral forces of the colonial society. To political and civil equality corresponds, evidently, the moral equality of all the races which was proclaimed by various intellectual leaders in Spain since the time of the conquest and was the underlying principle of the best legislation for the Indies. To the idea of popular sovereignty of the present time corresponds, in essence, the idea of kingdoms, practically national groups, that existed not only in the mind but also in the vocabulary during the colonial period. To the principle of the division of powers of the present time correspond the system of checks and balances and the greatly developed idea of responsibility of the earlier period. It is not my purpose by such a statement to minimize or to neglect the influence of other factors as, for instance, the foreign ideals, the revolutionary spirit in France and the United States, the economic interest of England, and the new international situation in Europe and in America. I wish only to rectify the old table of values.

Since the recent studies on Victoria and De Soto and other publicists of the Spanish school it is impossible to deny that the principle of moral equality of the races was common to the greatest intellectual leaders at the time of the conquest of America. We must keep in mind that this idea, which was upheld by Montesinos and Las Casas, moulded the spirit of the Spanish crown. One of the greatest distinctive features of Spanish history is the placing of the conquest of America on a high moral ground and the confronting of the difficult problems that such an attitude implies. One can assert that

Spain complicated the process of its expansion in new lands with ethical problems. In other countries that expansion took place without decided ethical preoccupations, attention being directed mainly to practical or technical questions of efficiency. It does not matter that in the long run and in most of the cases this Spanish ethical inspiration failed. Such is the sad aspect of human life. The historian, however, can not neglect that ethical inspiration, not only because of its idealistic aspect but also because of its influence and results. The tragic conflict of the civil wars in Peru between the generous purpose embodied in the new ordinances and the economic interest of the conquistadores is the proof of our thesis.

In religious circles, which furnished the intellectual factor of the early epoch, the ideas of Victoria, De Soto, and Las Casas were not lost. They were kept and formed a real tradition. Solórzano Pereira referred many times in his writings to the work of Father Agia relative to the rights of the Indians, whose writings were accepted by colonial authors. In the middle of the seventeenth century, which is the period of the complete consolidation of the colonial régime, the idealistic tradition regarding the moral equality of the races appeared in another philosopher and theologian, namely, the Peruvian, Diego de Avendaño. In his work, *Thesaurus Indicus*, he deals with the obligations of the crown toward the Indians; he combats slavery, affirming that liberty comes to man by natural law. Father Avendaño does not differentiate between the Indians and the Negroes, for he states categorically that the sale of slaves is the violation of justice and right. At the end of the seventeenth century, the marvelous legislative monument, *La Recopilacion de las Leyes de las Indias*, appeared. Many of the ordinances inspired by the ethical movement at the beginning of the conquest were incorporated in this code. It is not necessary to repeat here the unanimous opinion of specialists regarding this masterpiece of colonial legislation from the humanitarian standpoint. The tradition



in behalf of the moral equality of the races received foreign support through the introduction of the ideas of an enlightened philosophy. At the end of the eighteenth century, an attorney of the audiencia of Charcas, the famous Victorian Villava, continued the idealistic doctrine of Victoria and Avendaño. He combatted the institution of the *mita*, defending the Indians and denying the right to compel them to work. Villava, a real precursor of independence, united the best ethical traditions of the old régime and the spirit of a new epoch. His wonderful personality is the embodiment of our historical continuity. With respect to the Indian problem, it was not necessary for the founders of independence to import new principles and ideals; it was enough to revive the tradition that we are studying.

Above the Indians in the colonial structure we have the *mestizos*. Their condition is well known. Although they were not subject to the payment of tribute, yet their social and political standing was not the same as that of the whites, either Spanish or American. They were excluded by certain laws from higher education in the colleges and universities and of course from the exercise of liberal professions. However, it must be noted that these laws were not always applied. In reality, the mixed classes could attain to a high education and certain professional positions were open to them. The work of the church, essentially democratic, succeeded in lessening the strict social hierarchy of the epoch. We have regarding this fact a very interesting and direct proof. The following is taken from a pamphlet containing the addresses delivered at the cortes of Cadiz by the American representatives and published by the *mestizos* of Lima:

There is no one class of Latin and rhetoric which one can not find distinctly Plebian without excepting Indian and mixed people. There are also many colleges and universities belonging to the religious orders in which philosophy and theology are taught to young people

of all kinds of color and birth. . . . The religious orders of the town of Lima have preserved us from the ignorance to which we were condemned by the false policy of the century.

In agreement with this, the constitutional historian of Chile, Luis Galdames, said,

The mixed people did not know other culture than that spread among them by the church. Without this selfish and perseverant help the mestizo would never have broken the servitude to which he was condemned by the covetousness of his dominators.

The education of the mixed class by the church was a decisive factor in attaining independence. If it be true that the majority of the leaders in the revolution were white, it is undeniable at the same time that many of them, and some of the most important, were mestizos. Without the coöperation of this class and its seizing of new ideas, independence would have been impossible.

The second position in the colonial hierarchy was occupied by the whites born in America, that is, the creoles. The differentiation of this class from Spaniards was rather a question of practice than of law. We must remember that legally the creoles had not only the same right as the Spaniards, but were privileged as well to maintain the positions held by their fathers. Nevertheless, Spanish policy failed to observe this right, and established practically another class in the social hierarchy, contrary to the opinion of the jurists of the seventeenth century, including Solórzano, and the prudent advice of the clever statesmen of the eighteenth century including Macanaz. Upon the outbreak of the revolution, it was not necessary to appeal to arguments inspired by imported philosophy in order to affirm the rights of the creoles. It was enough to invoke, as the Peruvian Ávarez did, the *Recopilación* of the Indies and even the law of Spain, according to which Americans were to be preferred to Spaniards for posts in the colonies.



It has been stated that the principle of popular sovereignty of today corresponds to the idea of kingdom (that is, a national group) of the colonial epoch. I have not space in this paper to deal with the problem of the origin of the national consciousness in Spanish America. I must state briefly, however, that territorial and racial factors were from the beginning the foundation of new nationalities. The conquest was not the extension of Spanish territory. Spain founded from California to Cape Horn different societies which developed characteristic features from the very beginning. These territories were not only considered provinces within the framework of a symmetrical administrative organization, but kingdoms, and were so called. They were not annexed to Spain or attached to Spanish territory, but incorporated in the Spanish crown. This idea explains the establishment of the council of the Indies, entirely independent and with the same rank as the council of Castile. Immediately after the conquest, the king of Spain decided to found in these territories different high tribunals called "audiencias" which possessed greater rank and powers than the only two audiencias of Spain. The creation of viceroys, who were personal representatives of the absent king, and captains-general, who had almost the same rank, reveals the importance attributed to the different social or national groups in the Spanish colonial empire. The nationalistic differentiation existed in the colonial period. All scholars now agree that the audiencias were as a rule the nuclei of new nationalities. We should not minimize the philological argument: the word "kingdom", a synonym of "nation", is used for the large districts of the empire, not only by the historian and geographer but by official documents. It is also found in many royal decrees and laws. Spanish statesmen, *e.g.*, Carvajal y Lancaster and Aranda, were well aware of these nationalistic processes when they framed the constitutions of semi-independent monarchies. The belief is very common that a democratic revolution cre-

ated different nations. The truth is that the existence of different national personalities took its last expression in the outbreak of independence and the formation of democratic institutions.

The living cells of these nations or kingdoms were the *cabildos*, the colonial institution that represented self government and to a certain extent democratic principles. We lack a thorough research regarding the rôle played by the cabildos in the colonial period, and there is a contradiction of opinion among sociologists. Some of them exaggerate it, as do, for instance, Sarmiento and Ramos Mejía, while others minimize it, as do Altamira and Juan Agustín García. The cabildos were at least the instrument of the local oligarchies which were an essential element in the arousing and developing of nationalistic feeling and played a decisive rôle in the acquisition of independence. The custom of buying positions in the cabildos, although anti-democratic and absurd as it was, contributed to give to the oligarchies independence and permanency which perhaps were necessary at that time for the formation of a leading class entirely apart from the general bureaucratic and centralized organisms. Among the cabildos there was common consent regarding the paramount position of the cabildo of the capital of each kingdom. When the struggle for independence broke out, this cabildo addressed invitations to the others to form a national government. This spontaneous and general move is another manifestation of the existence of the national spirit.

I have said that to the modern division of power corresponds the principles of limitation, control, and responsibility during the colonial period. The policy of the king of Spain was to maintain just balance or equilibrium among the organisms they created. In comparing the powers of the viceroy and those of the president of a republic, I do not hesitate to affirm that the checks and balances applied to the former were more strict and efficient than those applying to the latter.

There is much to say about the idea of legitimate authority that was so deeply rooted in the colonial period and which became one of the foundations of the new constitutional and legal spirit.

All these factors received new strength from the reforms of the Bourbons. These reforms were intended to strengthen and reaffirm the bonds between the colonies and the mother country, but the results were just the contrary. We must refer to the creation of new viceroyalties in Santa Fé and La Plata, to the new captaincy-general of Venezuela, and to their resultant effect, namely, the consolidation of the nationalistic spirit of those regions. It may also be asserted that the same result was produced by the free-trade reform. During the period when commerce was under the control of the fleet [*flota*] and the galleons, Mexico and Central America formed one economic unity and South America, another one. When trade was permitted directly among the several districts or kindoms and the mother country and among themselves they acquired a certain economic autonomy.

The most important reform in the time of Charles III., namely, the creation of the intendencias, was designed to make more efficient the action of the central government by inaugurating an intermediate factor between the corregidores and the viceroy. But the result was to affirm the leading position of the old Spanish towns which were the seat of a cabildo and of a bishopric and to strengthen indirectly the center of this small organism which was about to play an important rôle in the era of independence. The intendcias laid the foundation of the future territorial division of this new country.

Finally one must consider the education and reform carried out by Charles III. on the occasion of the expulsion of the Jesuits. The committee appointed to regulate the properties and wealth of the suppressed order did not limit its activity to the economic or financial field. That body, inspired



by the project presented for the university of Seville by the Peruvian Olavide, planned a general reform of the universities and colleges. The essential features of that reform were as follows: the introduction of studies of national history and national law; the establishment of a chair of natural and international law and moral philosophy (a disguised name for constitutional law), the physics of Newton and the philosophy of Descartes instead of the physics and philosophy of Aristotle; and the important foundation of the university library with a chair of bibliography for each class. This reform was not carried out immediately, but was achieved at the end of the eighteenth century with the abolition of the old colleges and the establishment of the new ones in almost every country. This pedagogical reform was the real and efficient channel through which the new philosophy and social sciences came to Spanish America. Many who place an exaggerated emphasis on the influence of this philosophy have neglected the important instrument that was placed unconsciously at its service by the reform of Charles III.

By virtue of the working of principles already noted (in part an ethical tradition of Spain and in part embodied in the colonial laws), the way was prepared for the growth and development of the national consciousness. The eminent Mexican historian, Sierra, said truly:

The Spanish evolution, whose last expression was the Hispanic-American nationalities, had not as its object the creation of national personalities; but on the contrary it tried to prevent this. But the vigor of the Spanish race was such that this phenomenon took place in spite of everything.

Matiensso, the Argentine constitutionalist, correctly affirms that Spain created centers and forces of cohesion that were the future nuclei of the different nationalities. The rights of the creoles to hold the most important positions and of the different kingdoms to govern themselves in the absence of the king—the two basic principles of the early revolution—were

evolved by the creole purists from colonial legislation. With regard to the most advanced principles of civil and political equality, Christian and ethical tradition was entirely in accord with the new democratic pronouncements. This assertion does not seek to lessen or justify the real evils of the colonial period, but only to rectify the extreme unilateral point of view of those who have maintained that the new institutions of the Spanish-American nations had no root, precedent, or foundation in the old colonial political or spiritual life.

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## THE PAPACY AND SPANISH-AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

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The revolt and emancipation of Spanish America gave rise to problems both perplexing and embarrassing to the papacy in its relations with Spain and that country's seceding colonies. These problems were political and religious in nature, arising from the temporal and spiritual character of the papal office. The principal political question which confronted the vatican was: Should the holy see recognize the independence of the Spanish-American republics? The question belonging to the ecclesiastical category which was forced upon Rome by the revolution was: How long should the patronage of the Spanish king over the American church be observed, and, after its termination, what was to be the nature of control to be substituted in America for it? The answers given by the pope to the above questions and the manner in which they were received by Spain and the new republics constitute an interesting episode in the history of Spanish-American independence.

Since the question of patronage was inextricably connected with that of papal-Spanish-American relations, a brief examination of its origins and nature is necessary. The Catholic church in the Spanish colonies was impressed with a marked politico-religious character, singular in many respects in ecclesiastical history. It is difficult to conceive of a more absolute jurisdiction than that which the kings of Spain exercised in all the ecclesiastical affairs of the Indies. Not the vatican but the council of the Indies was in control of the vast church organization in America. This control of the church by the crown and its representatives in America was



called the *real patronato de Indias* and was regarded by the kings as their most precious regal attribute.<sup>1</sup>

Dating from early colonial times there were two schools of thought on the subject of the origins of the *real patronato de Indias*. One group, the "regalists", contended that the royal patronage of the Indies was laical in origin and therefore an inherent, integral part of temporal sovereignty. The second school, the "canonists" or "ultramontanists" argued that the patronage was originally not laical but spiritual, and was founded solely in the pontifical concessions of Alexander VI., Julius II., and their successors.<sup>2</sup> In the controversy with the republics of Spanish America, the papacy, anxious to reassert its legitimate authority over the church in America, consistently espoused the ultramontane theory, that is, that the *patronato de Indias* was originally a concession, therefore not inherent in sovereignty, and consequently not inheritable by the republics. The latter quite as logically championed the regalistic theory for they sincerely believed that their independence could not be guaranteed if they were not in control of the church. Spain, finally, tenaciously clung to the royal patronage, threatening the pope with dire consequences if he dared to disregard it, because of the forlorn hope that the patronage would be the means of eventually bringing about the reestablishment of Spanish political authority in America.

At an early date in the Revolution, the rebel governments recognized the importance of approaching Rome to secure papal confirmation of their exercise of the patronage, that is, national patronage, or *patronato nacional*. Legislation which established the Catholic church as the state church was generally accompanied or followed by provisions for the assumption of the old royal patronage by the new governments.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See J. Lloyd Meham, "The Origins of *Real Patronato de Indias*", in *The Catholic Historical Review*, VIII. 205-228 (July, 1928).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 206-208.

<sup>3</sup> For example, the first constitution of Venezuela (1811) declared that the conduct of relations with the holy see belonged to the government, and direct

Prior to 1820, the pope did not listen benevolently to the overseas separatists, for it was natural and necessary that he respect Spanish rights in America. While the Spanish king possessed the actual political dominion in America, the right and the exercise of the patronage was legitimately in vigor, and the holy see could not in consequence appear except on the side of Madrid. Considering the fact that all the powers, not even excepting the United States, refrained from recognition, it would have been imprudent and faithless for the pope to violate legitimacy by ignoring the patronage. He therefore was very willing to listen to the request of the Spanish government that he issue a brief exhorting the obedience of the American subjects through the intercession of the colonial prelates. On January 30, 1816, Pius VII. issued an encyclical to the archbishops and bishops of America, urging them to win over their flocks to obedience to the Spanish king.<sup>4</sup>

After 1820, however, the papacy was not so deaf to American entreaties, and papal support of Spanish policy was not unqualified. Between 1820 and 1822, Pope Pius VII. recognized that the spiritual interests of America could not be hidden in the legitimist formula, and that ecclesiastical problems of America required tact and benevolence in their treatment. This change of attitude was due to two events: the achievement, or practical achievement, of Hispanic American independence, and the liberal Spanish revolt of 1820.

The capture of Lima by San Martín, Bolivia's victory at Carabobo, and the treaty of Cordova between Iturbide and O'Donoju, convinced the pope that the colonies were irrevoc-

communication between the American episcopacy and the holy pontiff was illegal. In New Granada, authority was granted by the federal act of 1811 to negotiate with the pope for the continuance of the patronage. In La Plata, provision for the establishment of state control of the patronage was contained in the *Estatuto* of 1813, in a resolution of the congress of Tucuman in 1817, in the *Reglamento Provisorio* of 1817, and in the constitution of 1819.

<sup>4</sup>For a copy of the encyclical in the original Latin, see P. Pedro Leturia, *La acción diplomática de Bolívar ante Pío VII., 1820-1823* (Madrid, 1925), Appendix No. 1, pp. 281-282.

cably lost to Spain, and that the exercise of the *real patronato* was impossible. Continued non-communication with Rome meant a paralyzation of the ecclesiastical organization in Spanish America. Unless he listened to American pleas, the pope was confronted with the very unpleasant prospect of a serious schism, or the breakup of the Catholic church in America, with resultant indifference and exposure to Methodists, Presbyterians, and even sun worshippers, as Cardinal Consalvé told Leo XII.<sup>5</sup> The holy father was faced by a dilemma. It was his duty to see that the faithful in America were provided with adequate spiritual leaders. Yet to provide them by means of Spanish presentation would be regarded as an insult in America, and the reverse, *i.e.*, recognition of national patronage or even the ignoring of the royal patronage, would be regarded by Spain as political recognition of the new states and justification for a break.

At the precise moment when the loss of the Spanish colonies appeared to be a certainty and Rome altered its attitude accordingly, the liberal constitutional government in Spain, which had been set up as a result of the revolt of 1820, proceeded to antagonize the pope and impel him along the new road. The anti-clerical measures of the Madrid government, which culminated in the expulsion of the nuncio from Madrid in January, 1823, filled the pope with apprehension for the church not only in Spain, but also in America. He began to ask himself why he should now lend his moral support to a government, which, if its authority were reëstablished in America, would cause irreparable damage to the church in the new world. In fine, the unsympathetic attitude of the liberals toward the ancient privileges of the church in Spain, made the pope lukewarm in his championship of the old ecclesiastical rights of the Spanish government in America.

The Spanish cortes, anti-clerical and liberal though it may have been, was essentially nationalistic and therefore it was

<sup>5</sup> Artaud de Montor, *Histoire du Pape Léon XII.* (Paris, 1843), I. 166.



just as determined as the preceding government not to recognize Spanish-American independence. On February 22, 1822, the Spanish ministry issued a circular to the European governments supplicating them not to put obstacles in the way of the reestablishment of Spanish rights in America "which had never been renounced". The pope, when given the circular, was asked to promise in writing not to recognize American independence before Spain. Pius VII. refused to comply with the request and declared his adherence to the principle of neutrality.<sup>6</sup> Such a declaration was indeed a departure from the old policy, for, as we have seen, the pope was willing to issue an encyclical in 1816 urging the American clergy to support the Spanish cause.

The period 1820-1823 was the psychological time for the rebel governments to approach Rome and present their cases. During those years, Pius VII. was in a receptive mood and, undoubtedly, if the Spanish Americans had been fully aware of their opportunity and had hastened to take advantage of it they would have been able to secure real concessions from the pope. Unfortunately, the American governments were slow in acting, or, if earlier action was taken the ecclesiastical business was entrusted to political agents who neglected or totally ignored their spiritual instructions. When eventually special ecclesiastical missions with definite instructions were sent to Rome, absolutism had been reestablished in Spain and a favorable opportunity was lost.

As early as 1819, Simón Bolívar considered seriously the problem of negotiating an agreement with Rome which would give to Colombia the right of patronage as exercised by the Spanish kings in the colonies. Due to his influence, the congress of Angostura (1819) decided to entrust to a political mission ordered to England, the additional duty of securing from Pius VII. the preconization of bishops for vacant sees. Fernando Peñalver and José Vergara were entrusted with

<sup>6</sup> Leturia, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-187.

the politico-religious mission. Their instructions, issued by the congress on July 7, 1819, ordered them to open negotiations with the pope "as head of the Catholic church and not as the temporal lord of the Legations". They were to tell the holy father that the people of New Granada and Venezuela were loyal Catholics who refused to believe that the oppressive and tyrannical Spanish government was being supported against them by the successor of St. Peter. Finally, they were to propose the negotiation of a concordat.<sup>7</sup>

Peñalver and Vergara arrived in London on September 20, 1819. The refusal of Castlereagh to meet them meant failure as far as the political objective of the mission was concerned. Peñalver determined to return to Venezuela to report on the situation, but before embarking he and Vergara disposed of their ecclesiastical business by forwarding (March 27, 1820), through the nuncio at Paris, a memorial to the pope.<sup>8</sup>

Francisco Antonio Zea was the next agent sent to Europe by Bolívar (June, 1820). It was unfortunate that Zea did not take advantage of the favorable situation, as a result of the liberal revolt of 1820, to go to Rome and negotiate directly with the pope. But he was principally concerned with the larger question of independence and had no time to devote to the religious problems entrusted to him.<sup>9</sup> Finally, on April 8, 1822, Zea addressed to the pope through the nuncio at Paris a note demanding immediate recognition of the Colombian government. The note was couched in such intemperate and tactless language that the *Journal des Debats* (April 18) in commenting on it said, "Mr. Zea, brilliant botanist, is still somewhat of a novice at diplomacy". The nuncio upon the

<sup>7</sup> Carlos A. Villanueva, *La Santa Alianza* (Paris, n.d.), p. 202; Leturia, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92. On January 3, 1820, the congress passed a provisional law which provided that until a concordat could be arranged, the vice-president should approve those nominated for the lower ecclesiastical offices.

<sup>8</sup> Lucas Ayarragaray, *La Iglesia en América y la Dominación Española* (Buenos Aires, 1920), pp. 209-210.

<sup>9</sup> Pedro A. Zubieta, *Apuntaciones sobre las primeras Misiones Diplomáticas de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1924), pp. 273-335.

advice of the representatives of the holy allies in Paris returned the note to Zea with the explanation that he had no authority to send it to Rome.<sup>10</sup>

When Santander was installed in Bogotá as vice-president of Great Colombia, he determined to make use of powers granted him by the congress of Cúcuta to enter into negotiations with the papacy. He began by avoiding the errors of prior missions like those of Peñalver, Vergara, and Zea, of entrusting the agent with mixed political and ecclesiastical business. José Echeverría, at that time in Spain, was appointed minister plenipotentiary to Rome (July 12, 1822). He was instructed to work for the recognition of Colombian independence and the recognition of national patronage. The mission was not carried out, for in September, 1822, Echeverría died in Dieppe while preparing to go to Rome.<sup>11</sup> Agustín Gutiérrez Moreno, then in Chile, was appointed by General Santander to succeed Echeverría, but he was unable to accept and so Dr. Ignacio Sánchez de Tejada, then living in London, was appointed, in June, 1823, as Colombian minister to the holy see.<sup>21</sup> Before Tejada could reach his post, important events in Madrid and Rome had taken place with a consequent alteration of papal policy. The psychological moment for a rapprochement between Rome and America had passed. Before entering upon a discussion of Tejada's mission, it is necessary to transfer our attention to the establishment of a temporary *modus vivendi* between the vatican and the Chilean republic.

In Chile, as in other parts of Spanish America, the episcopacy was thoroughly disorganized because of the revolution. The dictator, Bernardo O'Higgins, decided, with the advice of the presbyter, José Ignacio Cienfuegos, a liberal creole ecclesiastic and ardent supporter of independence, to send an official

<sup>10</sup> Leturia, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-106.

<sup>11</sup> Zubieta, *op. cit.*, p. 575; José Gil Fortoul, *Historia Constitucional de Venezuela* (Berlin, 1907), I. 381.

<sup>21</sup> Zubieta, *op. cit.*, p. 576.



delegation to Rome to request necessary measures for the reform of the religious situation. Cienfuegos himself was appointed chief of the mission.<sup>13</sup> His instructions, drawn up by O'Higgins, were partly as follows:

Declare our filial and religious obedience to the holy see, protesting our faith, belief, union and communion with the head of the church. Request of him an apostolic nuncio who may be either a citizen of this country or any other whom his holiness may wish to appoint; petition a declaration conceding to the Chilean nation the patronage granted the kings of Spain by Julius II.; ask of him that, at least in the interim, he send to Chile auxiliary bishops to take the places of the proprietary bishops.<sup>14</sup>

Cienfuegos sailed from Valparaíso on January 25, 1822, and arrived in Genoa on June 19, 1822. He immediately wrote to the cardinal secretary announcing that the Chilean government had sent him to swear obedience to the pope and to report to him on the spiritual necessities of his people. When the Spanish chargé Aparici asked that Cienfuegos be not allowed to enter Rome, Cardinal Consalvi replied (July 6, 1822):

Having been informed that the archdeacon Cienfuegos came to Rome to explain to the pope the spiritual necessities of his people, the holy father believed that as common father of the faithful he could not refuse to listen to whatever news they brought from America touching on the state of religion, although without entering into any political relations that could offend the rights of the legitimate sovereign.<sup>15</sup>

On August 6, Cienfuegos had an audience, in Latin, with the pope. After he described the necessities of the Chilean church, he suggested, as a temporary remedy, that an apostolic vicar be sent to Chile. The proposal was both sound and practical. To send to Chile a nuncio with diplomatic character would be premature and would connote political recog-

<sup>13</sup> Luis Galdames, *Estudio de la Historia de Chile* (Santiago, 1911), p. 309.

<sup>14</sup> Faustino J. Legón, *Doctrina y Ejercicio del Patronato Nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1920), p. 492; Luis Barros Borgoño, *La Mision del Vicario Apostólico don Juan Muzi* (Santiago, 1883), pp. 313-321.

<sup>15</sup> Leturia, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-189.

nition. But a vicar or apostolic delegate without diplomatic character could not arouse Spanish protests. Furthermore, the suggestion of the Chilean delegate that the pope send to Chile bishops *in partibus* to bridge the emergency was a sensible proposal, for the Spanish government could not protest the confirmation of titular bishops for America since they had never been subject to the royal patronage. Thus the objection to the naming of proprietary bishops would be avoided, and the spiritual necessities of America would be served without precipitating a break with Spain. The question of appointing an apostolic vicar, as suggested by Cienfuegos, was submitted to a congregation of six cardinals. The pope in the meantime approached Madrid with a proposal that, if the Spanish government would permit the naming of proprietary bishops in America, the holy see would bind itself not to recognize Spanish-American independence for at least thirty years. The Spanish government would not listen to the proposal. After lengthy discussion in the congregation, the proposal of Cienfuegos was approved, and John Muzi was appointed vicar apostolic to Chile. Later Muzi's jurisdiction was enlarged to include all of America. He was empowered to consecrate in America titular bishops, and to repair as soon as possible the evils caused by the struggle over investiture. He was advised to be cautious in the exercise of his powers and to abstain from the use of his authority in any colony where Spanish authority existed, or where there was a probability of its being reestablished.<sup>16</sup>

As was to be expected, Spain protested the pope's appointment of a vicar apostolic. Pius VII. justified his decision by declaring that his action was made necessary because of his pastoral obligations, and that it was merely a provisional action which would not disparage in any way Spain's rights.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> José Sallusti, *Historia de las Misiones Apostólicas de Monseñor Juan Muzi en el Estado de Chile* (Santiago, 1906), pp. 7-8; Ayarragaray, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-236.

<sup>17</sup> Ayarragaray, *op. cit.*, pp. 223, 225.

The apostolic vicar, Muzi, accompanied by his secretary, José Sallusti, and the canon, Conti Mastai, the later Pius IX., sailed from Genoa on October 4, 1823.<sup>18</sup> The papal delegate was given an enthusiastic reception by the populace of Buenos Aires, and General San Martín visited him twice to welcome him. The authorities, however, were very reserved in presenting themselves, and they even prohibited Muzi from exercising his ministry. The newspapers adopted an antagonistic attitude toward the vicar and accused him of being the envoy of the holy alliance. Furthermore, his sale of vast quantities of bulls and relics which he had brought over with him was criticised as being mercenary.<sup>19</sup> Using the pretext that the presence of Muzi threatened a revolt, Rivadavia ordered him to leave the country immediately. Thus ended in rancor and disappointment the attempt to bring Argentina back into the fold.<sup>20</sup>

The apostolic vicar arrived in Santiago de Chile in March, 1824. He was received with enthusiasm by the populace, and with pomp and veneration as the nuncio of the pope by the government of General Ramón Freire.<sup>21</sup> To Director Freire was delivered by Muzi a letter addressed to him by Leo XII. This letter was significant as being the first one written by the pope to a political chieftain in America.<sup>22</sup>

Muzi's mission to Chile resulted in disastrous failure when the vicar ran afoul of the *patronato nacional*. The papal representative resolutely refused to accept the government's nominees for ecclesiastical positions. For this conflict Cienfuegos was partly responsible since he, when the mission had been approved by Pius VII., wrote O'Higgins telling him that the

<sup>18</sup> Sallusti, *op. cit.*, p. 229. For an account of the rôle played by the later Pius IX. in the mission, see J. G. Shea, *The Life of Pope Pius IX* (New York, 1877), pp. 32-40.

<sup>19</sup> One critic reported that the vicar had "tons" of relics.

<sup>20</sup> Legón, *op. cit.*, p. 490; Sallusti, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-228.

<sup>21</sup> While Cienfuegos was in Rome, O'Higgins was ousted from power by the pseudo-liberal, General Freire.

<sup>22</sup> Sallusti, *op. cit.*, p. 237.



Chilean government had been conceded the right of presentation to benefices and the administration of the tithes, and that the vicar was to consecrate those persons nominated for vacant episcopacies by the government. All this practically amounted, he said, to a recognition of Chilean independence.<sup>23</sup> This was untrue and was flatly contradicted by the new cardinal secretary, Della Somaglia. Cienfuegos, therefore, led the Chilean government to believe that the right of national patronage had been confirmed. Muzi, on the other hand, could not acknowledge the right of the Chilean government to make ecclesiastical appointments. The difficulty of his position was increased because in Chile, as in Buenos Aires, he was regarded as being an agent of the holy alliance. Muzi, recognizing the impossibility of conciliating the irreconcilable, asked for his passports.<sup>24</sup>

The vicar sailed from Valparaiso for Montevideo via Cape Horn, on October 30, 1824. At Montevideo he published an apostolic letter in which he defended his actions.<sup>25</sup> He sailed from Montevideo for Europe, on December 4, 1824, and arrived in Rome on June 18, 1825. The fundamental cause of the failure of the mission was the misunderstanding for which Cienfuegos was responsible, and the lack of confidence on the part of the Chileans in the vatican because of its acts in support of conservative and royalist tendencies. The intervention of the holy father, far from being beneficial in the dioceses of La Plata and Chile, left a very bad impression and an antagonistic attitude toward the papacy. On the other hand, the mission of Muzi was significant because it was the begin-

<sup>23</sup> Leturia, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

<sup>24</sup> Sallusti, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>25</sup> The minister of Chile to London, Mariano Egaña, told the Mexican agent, Vázquez, that the treatment of Muzi by Chile was a national disgrace. The actions of the vicar, said Egaña, had been correct and disinterested, and his intentions the most honorable; he did not in the least fail to perform his duty. If he refused to consecrate two men proposed to him by the government he had excellent reasons for refusal (Antonio de la Peña y Reyes, *Leon XII y los Países Hispano-Americanos*, México, 1924, p. 67).

ning of a *modus vivendi* with the American governments. In spite of Spanish protests, a kind of relationship was established between Rome and America. Later events proved this to be the logical stepping stone to recognition.

In 1824, the history of Papal-American relations assumed a different character.<sup>26</sup> The change was due principally to the restoration of Ferdinand VII. to his absolute authority, yet contributing factors were: the accession of a new pope (Leo XII.), the appearance of Mexico as a prominent supplicant at the vatican, and the presence in Rome of the first great American diplomat, Ignacio de Tejada of Colombia.

Ferdinand VII., having been restored to the full enjoyment of his absolute power, thanks to the holy allies, and France in particular, was anxious to be restored to his power in America as well. His one remaining hope in America was the clergy which had been one of the main supports of the royal cause. Ambassador Vargas, who had been restored to the Roman embassy, was ordered to solicit Leo XII. to issue an encyclical to the prelates of America, exhorting them to

<sup>26</sup> An excellent summary of the Hispanic-American policy of Pius VII. is to be found in the advice given by Cardinal Consalvi to Leo XII. on the occasion of that pontiff's accession to the papal throne: "What position ought we to take towards the Catholics in South America? Last year I treated the Spanish Cortes with forbearance with a view to obtaining, in case they should remain in power for a lengthy period, the right of appointing bishops to the vacant sees in distant lands. The legitimate Spanish monarch has no authority over these provinces, each of which is like a kingdom. I have allowed Spain more than fifteen years in which to work for the establishment of its sovereignty, but whether it is due to ingratitude or to infirmity, Spain has used our silence as a weapon against the rebels. If Spain had granted us permission to appoint bishops in Colombia, Mexico, and wherever we demanded it, we would have granted the legitimate monarchy a respite of thirty years in which to get firmly into the saddle; but the time might easily come when Spain, without having regained its power, would say to us: 'I must resign my sovereignty, save your dogmas as well as you can'. It would then be too late for Rome. If we had waited so long, our apostolic vicar might have found the country filled with Methodists, Presbyterians, and new Sun-worshippers. I have therefore maintained friendly relations between Rome and those who so violently, and with such a well-founded hope of success have refused obedience to the Juntas and to Ferdinand VII.'" (Artaud de Montor, *op. cit.*, I. 166 f.).

preach obedience to the legitimate authority of the Spanish king. A subtle argument used by Vargas to influence Cardinal Somaglia was somewhat as follows: the Americans were opposed to the establishment of legitimate government; this could be equally applied to apostolic authority. The only way to keep them in the Roman faith was to oblige their submission to the legitimate political authority. Otherwise, the result would be serious schism, or, at least, indifference on the subject of religion.<sup>27</sup> On September 24, 1824, the pope issued his celebrated encyclical to the archbishops and bishops of America, asking them to support the cause of

our very dear son Ferdinand, Catholic king of Spain, whose sublime and solid virtues cause him to place before the splendor of his greatness the luster of religion and the happiness of his subjects.<sup>28</sup>

The publication of this document created a sensation throughout the length and breadth of America.<sup>29</sup> The suspicion that Leo XII. was in league with the holy allies was now confirmed. A certain result produced by the encyclical was that of confirming the Americans in their determination to protect their independence. In view of the fact that it was recognized by all, save Ferdinand VII., that the colonies were irrevocably lost, the action of the pope in issuing the encyclical is unintelligible.<sup>30</sup> But whatever the reason for its issuance, the publication of the encyclical certainly did not facilitate the estab-

<sup>27</sup> Ayarragaray, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-235.

<sup>28</sup> Peña y Reyes, *op. cit.*, p. iii.

<sup>29</sup> "The encyclical, since it praised the virtues (?) of Ferdinand VII., and advocated a return to the colonial system (*i.e.*, slavery), alienated many loyal Catholics in America" (V. Riva Palacios, ed., *México á través de los siglos*, México, 1889, IV, 139).

<sup>30</sup> Indeed, because of the very absurdity of the action, the encyclical has been declared by some to be apocryphal. They point to the singular circumstances under which it first appeared, *i.e.*, in the *Gaceta de Madrid*, and then six months after the date of its purported signature by the pope. Yet the cardinal secretary when accused did not deny the authenticity of the encyclical. See Ayarragaray (*op. cit.*, pp. 184-188, 199-203, for evidence of its authenticity). Also, see Peña y Reyes, *op. cit.*, p. 49.



lishment of a working agreement between Rome and America. The evident subservience of the Roman pontiff to the king of Spain gave encouragement to the group in Spanish America that was aiming at the establishment of national churches.

Within a year, however, the attitude of the pope changed, he being resolved to receive American agents charged with negotiating on ecclesiastical subjects. He, of course, was not ready yet to negotiate on political subjects. The person chiefly responsible for the alteration of papal policy was Ignacio de Tejada, the Colombian representative at Rome. Tejada stands out among the several American agents who were sent to Rome, as the most capable and the most successful. Undoubtedly, the prestige of Great Colombia, the best organized government in South America, with the great liberator at its head, tended to lend considerable support to Tejada. Nevertheless, his ability, discretion, energy, patience, and perseverance were qualities which contributed in even greater measure to the success of his long mission in Rome.<sup>31</sup>

Tejada arrived in Rome in September, 1824, and took up his residence in an obscure pension near the Plaza de Popolo. Notwithstanding the protests of Vargas, who was supported by the Austrian ambassador, Tejada was received privately by the cardinal secretary of state, Della Somaglia. His mission he declared was not political, but merely spiritual. He only came to describe to the pope the state of the church in Colombia, where, after fourteen years of non-communication with the papacy, all but two of the episcopal sees were vacant. These two bishops, he said, had to administer to three million people scattered over a country as large as France and Spain combined. He also described the menace of Protestantism in Colombia. The English, Dutch, Swiss, and other Protestants were coming to America in great numbers, and the Bible Society of England was scattering its doctrines and missions

<sup>31</sup> Ayarragaray, *op. cit.*, p. 227; the Mexican agent, Vázquez, wrote of Tejada, "Those who know him assure me that he is a man of talents, but a little eccentric" (Peña y Reyes, *op. cit.*, p. 68).

with profusion. He concluded by expressing the confidence of the people of Colombia that their petitions would be speedily granted since they only asked for a satisfactory settlement of matters in the purely spiritual order.<sup>32</sup> Cardinal Somaglia listened attentively but would not commit himself beyond promising that the matter would be studied. It was the pope's desire, he said, that Tejada retire to Bologna to avoid the opposition of the Spanish ambassador. Tejada acceded, saying that he was still hopeful for the success of his mission. Vargas, however, was dissatisfied with Tejada's residence in Bologna, and as a result of his continued protestations, the American agent was ordered, in November, 1824, to leave the papal states. He then took up his residence in Florence. The expulsion of its minister was regarded by Colombia as an affront, and Tejada was ordered to abandon his mission if the papacy did not raise the ban against him. The agent, however, understood that success depended on patience, and so was content to bide his time. His patience was rewarded for within a year he was allowed to take up his residence in Civita Vecchia, and in the following year, 1826, he was invited to return to Rome as "Diputado para los negocios eclesiasticos de Colombia en Roma".<sup>33</sup>

The new policy to receive American representatives as ecclesiastical delegates was adopted as the immediate reaction to the news that Mexico was sending to Rome a notable mission headed by the presbyter, Francisco Pablo Vázquez. He arrived in England on July 25, 1825.<sup>34</sup> News that Mexico was sending a mission to Rome interested Leo XII. greatly for the state of the church in Mexico, particularly since he feared Protestant propaganda from the United States, troubled him. He was therefore inclined to admit Vázquez to Rome and grant him an audience. The Spanish ambassador, however, presented

<sup>32</sup> Zubieta, *op. cit.*, p. 576.

<sup>33</sup> Villanueva, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-203, 206; Fortoul, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

<sup>34</sup> Lorenzo de Zavala, *Ensayo Histórico de las Revoluciones de México* (México, 1845), II. 170; *México á través de los siglos*, IV. 150-151.

the usual protests. The pope then sought the good offices of France to aid him in breaking down the opposition of Ferdinand VII. The French government accepted, seeing in this an opportunity to play the rôle of protector of the Catholic church in Spanish America, which could be used to counteract the commercial influence of England over the new nations.<sup>35</sup> Consequently, under the presidency of Damás, the papal nuncio, the ambassadors of Russia and Austria, and the minister of Prussia met in Paris, on October 7, 1825. The conference advised the pope to receive the Mexican envoys only as delegates in purely spiritual matters. They agreed to invite their representatives at Madrid to persuade Ferdinand VII. to their point of view. But when approached the Spanish sovereign refused positively to heed the advice of the holy allies. In commenting on Spanish intransigence, the papal nuncio at Madrid wrote:

The obstacles put in the way of the ecclesiastical authority in America should be enough to drive out of those lands all principles of canonical jurisprudence, and to introduce in Spain a species of Anglican supremacy.<sup>36</sup>

Notwithstanding the objections of Spain, Leo XII. was not to be deterred. Tejada and Vázquez were both invited to come to Rome, but only as ecclesiastical agents. The Colombian representative consented. Vázquez, unfortunately, since the *sine qua non* of his instructions was that he be received as a diplomatic envoy, had to refuse.

Leo XII. did not stop with receiving ecclesiastical agents from the Spanish-American republics. He decided to disregard the ancient right of royal patronage, and provide for the spiritual necessities in America in spite of the conflict which would be provoked by the act. Therefore, in the celebrated consistory of May 21, 1827, he preconized candidates presented by the government of Colombia as proprietary bishops

<sup>35</sup> Villanueva, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

<sup>36</sup> Zubieta, *op. cit.*, p. 526.



for six vacant seats in Colombia.<sup>37</sup> This act deprived *real patronato* of that which constituted its chief value, *i.e.*, the privilege of royal presentation. The assurance of the nuncio in Madrid that the bulls of confirmation sent to the Colombian bishops did not contain any expression which could be construed by the government of Colombia as granting it the right of presentation did not satisfy Ferdinand. Nor was he moved by a personal letter written to him on July 4, 1827, by Leo XII., which carried assurances that the pope did not intend to depart from his policy to refuse political recognition to the new states in America.<sup>38</sup>

The next move of Leo XII. was to send a new nuncio to Madrid to seek an understanding with Ferdinand. The king ordered the nuncio stopped at Irún and refused to allow him to enter Spain. The breach between Rome and Madrid was soon healed when Ferdinand's anger cooled and he wrote the pope a conciliatory letter. His conduct, he said, was dictated by necessity and not by choice. But since he was anxious to give proof of his affection for the holy father, he was sending an ambassador to Rome to settle the difficulty.<sup>39</sup> Don Pedro Gómez Labrador was appointed ambassador to Rome on this difficult mission. Labrador, mentally and temperamentally very much like Vargas, entered into his negotiations with the holy see by demanding in a high-handed manner that the pope publish in the newspapers a notice to the effect

that in the nomination of bishops, he did not act on the proposal of any rebel chief.

The cardinal secretary finally gave in and inserted a short notice to this effect in the papers. But when Labrador tried next to prevent the pope from receiving agents from America, he was met with refusal. Also, when the ambassador proposed that the pope should observe previous presentation by the Spanish king

<sup>37</sup> Zavala, *op. cit.*, I. 292; Ayarragaray, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-260.

<sup>38</sup> Ayarragaray, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-264, 266-268.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 269-271.

since His Catholic Majesty had not renounced the prerogatives of sovereignty as founder of the Church in the rebellious colonies,

Cardinal Somaglia countered with the statement that

the privileges conceded by the Holy See to the Catholic Sovereigns cease to have value when they would be injurious to the Church.<sup>40</sup>

In the midst of the negotiations, the pope announced that he planned at the next consistory, to be held in September, 1828, to preconize more bishops for America. To avoid a new conflict with Spain he proposed to name only titular bishops, "concerning whose nomination the patronal monarch has confessed he has no rights", he said. Still Labrador protested, and then Leo XII., with great emotion exclaimed that he would give his blood for the king, but that he could never give him his soul.<sup>41</sup> The September consistory had to be postponed, but on December 22, 1828, the pope preconized several apostolic vicars with episcopal character.

Leo XII. died on March 31, 1829, and he was succeeded in the vatican by Pius VIII. The new pope was firm in his refusal to recognize national patronage. The sincere efforts of Pius VIII. to harmonize his policy with that of the Spanish king were met with the usual rebuff. The pope, therefore, in spite of his natural reserve, had to yield to the pressure of facts. The impending ruin of the church in America, and the demoralization of the clergy, for now there was scarcely a bishop in all America, compelled the pope to consider measures to remedy the evils. Therefore, in spite of his favorable attitude toward Spain, he notified the Spanish ambassador of his intention to consecrate bishops for America at the Christmas consistory (1830). Labrador was thoroughly discouraged and wrote his government that in his judgment it was useless to object further.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 278-281, 283.

<sup>41</sup> Legón, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

<sup>42</sup> Ayarragaray, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-290; Zubieta, *op. cit.*, p. 588.

It was about this time (1830) that the Mexican envoy, Francisco Vázquez, finally entered Rome. Because of the pope's refusal to treat him as the diplomatic representative of an independent nation, Vázquez was detained for three years in Brussels, Paris, and London. In the summer of 1830, accompanied by a numerous retinue, Vázquez went to Rome to present a virtual ultimatum to the pope. He was instructed by his government to negotiate a concordat in which the "conditio sine qua non" was the nomination of proprietary bishops. Vázquez presented a list of persons whom the Mexican government wished to have confirmed in the vacant sees. The name of Vázquez was included in the list.<sup>43</sup> When the cardinal secretary attempted to induce Vázquez to accept as a temporary measure the naming of titular bishops, Vázquez flatly refused to negotiate saying that he was bound by a limited and express mandate. In the lively discussion which ensued, the Mexican was bold enough to insinuate that the pope's freedom of action was limited because of Spanish opposition. This the cardinal denied, and declared that to name proprietary bishops in the midst of so much turbulence in America would be a dangerous policy. The lack of stability in America was the reason for the pope's refusal to recognize independence.<sup>44</sup>

Death saved Pius VIII. from the radical action of confirming proprietary bishops for America. Gregory XVI., who was elected to the see of Peter on February 2, 1831, was  
 ✓ | the pope who first recognized the independence of the Spanish-American republics. When Gregory became pope, the  
 ✓ | atmosphere in the vatican was charged with a bitter resent-

<sup>43</sup> Zavala, *op. cit.*, II. 173.

<sup>44</sup> Ayarragaray, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-295. The account of Vázquez's mission, as given by Zavala (*op. cit.*, II. 172-173) is entirely at variance with the above. According to Zavala, Vázquez consented to go to Rome as a simple ecclesiastic. Then, without mentioning the Mexican government, he requested that the pope *motu proprio* (that is, without consideration of national rights) appoint bishops for America. The action of Vázquez, says Zavala, was an insult to the Mexican nation.



ment for the Spanish king because of his intransigence. Since the restoration of Spanish power in America was now an absolute impossibility, the high ecclesiastics advised the pope to restore normal ecclesiastical relations with America. Gregory heeded the advice and lost no time in adopting a definite policy. The new course was stated in the bull "*Sollicitudo Ecclesiarum*" (August, 1831), which referred particularly to the Portuguese situation,<sup>45</sup> but which could be extended to Spanish America. In this bull, the pope declared his intention to exercise freely his rights and his spiritual functions. If he treated ecclesiastical affairs with temporal governments, it was not to be regarded as recognition, but only recognition of the fact of existence of the said government for the carrying on of ecclesiastical affairs. Finally, he declared his intention to establish relations with *de facto* governments when they gave indication of stability.<sup>46</sup> When the Spanish ambassador enquired if, as one would deduce from the bull, the pope intended to recognize the Spanish-American republics, he was put off with the reply:

Almost none of the new states can present circumstances similar to those of Portugal. Thus the Spanish ambassador could imply that the moment could not be so imminent when the holy see would recognize any of them.<sup>47</sup>

Notwithstanding this explanation, it was well understood that papal recognition of America was now only a question of opportunity.

Beginning with the consistory of 1831, Gregory XVI. proceeded boldly to preconize proprietary bishops for America.

\* Dom Miguel, son of João VI. and brother of Pedro I. of Brazil, after the death of his father and during the minority of his niece, Maria da Gloria, was regent. Supported by absolutists he tried to retain the throne for himself. A struggle ensued in which both factions tried to secure from the pope the provision of bishops for vacant sees. Finally, Gregory XVI. decided to preconize the candidates presented by Dom Miguel. To explain his policy he issued the bull.

\* Fredrik Nielsen, *The History of the Papacy in the XIXth Century* (London, 1906), II. 64.

\* Ch. Sylvain, *Gregoire XVI et son Pontificat* (Paris, 1889), p. 117.

In Mexico, seven sees were filled. Francisco Vázquez was consecrated by the pope bishop of Puebla, and he in turn consecrated the other Mexican bishops.<sup>48</sup> In 1832, titular bishops for vacant sees in Argentina and Chile were appointed by the pope. It was not until the next year, 1833, that Tejada, now the agent for only New Granada, since the dissolution of Great Colombia, secured the preconization of bishops for Antioquía, Santa Marta, and Popayán, and for an archbishop for Bogotá.<sup>49</sup> In none of these cases did the pope formally recognize the right of presentation in the American governments, although he was often willing to accept names suggested to him. The procedure can only be regarded as a temporary expedient, for it is noteworthy that to the present day the papacy has never recognized patronage as being an inherent right in sovereignty.

It might be imagined that Gregory XVI. would not recognize the political independence of the Spanish-American republics without first arriving at a settlement regarding the patronage. He, however, prudently made the act of recognition a political one only, leaving for later study and solution, the problem of national patronage. He realized that, if recognition waited upon a settlement of the religious issue, recognition would never come. The death of Ferdinand VII. in 1833 facilitated papal recognition of American independence. Out of consideration for Ferdinand himself, who chose to regard recognition as a very personal affront, the pope had refrained from political action. With that obstacle now removed, and the Spanish government distraught by civil strife, the opportune moment had arrived for decisive action. On November 26, 1835, Gregory XVI. formally recognized the independence of the republic of New Granada. On December

<sup>48</sup> More Mexican sees were filled in 1834 and in 1836. By 1838, only Mexico and Oaxaca were without prelates owing to their voluntary absence. It was not until 1840 that the archepiscopal see of Mexico was filled. *México á través de los siglos*, IV. 284, 454.

<sup>49</sup> Zubieta, *op. cit.*, pp. 595-596.

14, 1835, Ignacio Tejada's long years of patient, tactful diplomacy were rewarded when he was received in papal audience as the chargé of the republic of New Granada.<sup>50</sup> When the pope manifested a desire to send a nuncio to New Granada, Tejada was instructed to oppose this because the pope wanted the republic to bear the expenses, and because it was feared that the pope's representative would exercise an ultramontane influence which would be injurious to a nascent and weak state. Tejada, however, was not able to stop the pope, for on May 18, 1836, Mon. Baluffi, was named internuncio extraordinary to New Granada. He was the first nuncio accredited to a Spanish-American republic.<sup>51</sup>

The recognition of New Granada marked the end of the American problem as far as political recognition and Spanish opposition were concerned. Thereafter, the pope's dealings with Spanish America were direct and unhampered by considerations for Spanish susceptibilities. When Rome became satisfied as to the political stability of the new governments set up in America, and as to their friendliness toward the principle of papal supremacy, recognition was bestowed. The problem of the patronage, however, remained to complicate and strain papal-American relations for many years to come.

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<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 597.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 598.



## DOCUMENTS

### THREE ACCOUNTS OF THE EXPEDITION OF FER- NANDO CORTÉS, PRINTED IN GERMANY BETWEEN 1520 AND 1522

#### INTRODUCTION

As soon as it became apparent that the natives of Santo Domingo and Cuba were dying off under the system of forced labor imposed on them by the Spaniards, the business of slave hunting in the surrounding islands and on the mainland of South America took on great activity. It was during one of these expeditions, sent out from Cuba under Francisco Hernández de Córdova, that a discovery was made which in a very short time had momentous results. Córdova intended to raid some islands off the coast of Guatemala. After pursuing his voyage only a short distance in that direction, however, he discovered the northeast point of Yucatan and followed the coast of this to the west until he reached Campeche. In a fight with the Indians a number of his men were killed, and Córdova and the rest were wounded. It was, therefore, decided to return by way of Florida. Here hostile Indians were also found, and more of the Spaniards were killed. The party then returned to Cuba. What struck the voyagers was the state of civilization in Yucatan, very much superior to any they had previously seen in the West Indies. A few gold ornaments were also found. Diego Velásquez, the governor of Cuba, therefore set on foot another expedition which he placed under the command of Juan de Grijalva. Grijalva proceeded directly towards the point of Yucatan, and discovered the Isla de Cozumel. Passing from there onward around the north end of Yucatan and following the coast, he reached, after various adventures, the present harbor of Vera Cruz. Here for the first time gold was found in quantity, and much was obtained from the natives by barter, so much, in fact,

that Grijalva decided to send a ship back to Cuba with it to inform Velásquez of the good news. He then continued his voyage to the north and reached a river he named the "Rio de Canoas". Here the ships were attacked by the natives. The pilot, Antón de Alaminos, strongly advised against proceeding further in that direction, so Grijalva turned back and following the coast again to the province of Tonalá, thence returned to Cuba.

As soon as Alvarado reached Cuba, Velásquez sent off to Spain Benito Martín, his chaplain, with an account of the expedition and letters to his friends, and with a request for a license to conquer and settle what his ships had discovered. He also took immediate steps to prepare another expedition which he placed under the command of Fernando Cortés. This departed November 18, 1518. Much time was lost in procuring supplies in Cuba, so the fleet did not get away from Havana until the latter part of February, 1519. Cortés followed much the same route as that of Grijalva to the present port of Vera Cruz which he reached April 20. The following day he landed. The natives soon came flocking to the camp to barter fruits, vegetables, flowers, gold, and ornaments of one kind or another. A few days afterward, an embassy from Montezuma appeared with numerous and rich gifts. The most wonderful of all these were the two wheels, one of gold and the other of silver. Cortés gave the ambassadors to understand that what he wanted was gold, and in succeeding days this began to come in from one source or another, until it amounted to such a sum that it was thought advisable to send it and the beautiful ornaments to Spain with some representatives who were directed to present the same to the emperor and request the government of the country for Cortés. The ship departed either July 16 or July 26 with the two agents, Francisco de Montejo and Alonso Fernández Puertocarrero and with Antón de Alaminos as pilot. Besides the presents they took four Indian men and two Indian women, and after

stopping at Marien on the north coast of Cuba, August 23, proceeded to Spain, which was reached November 5.

Incited, no doubt, by the stories brought back by Grijalva, Francisco de Garay, the governor of Jamaica, determined to take a hand in discovery. Not much is known of his expeditions, but it seems to have been his plan to proceed to some part of the coast to the north of Grijalva's discoveries. At that time Florida was generally supposed to be an island, and with the idea apparently that the mainland coast could be followed to the west of it, the expedition, which must have set out in the early part of 1519, passed west of the peninsula until the way was found barred by the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Alonso Álvarez Pineda was the pilot of the expedition and possibly Diego de Camargo was the commander. The Mississippi, or what is believed to have been that river, was discovered probably about June 12, as it was named the Espiritu Santo, and that festival fell on that day in 1519. Pineda is supposed to have remained there some forty days, careening the ships, but this seems doubtful, as after proceeding some distance farther around the coast to the west and south, a river was discovered which was named "San Pedro y San Pablo", a plain indication that the expedition was there on their day, June 29. In a declaration of services made many years later by Juan Sánchez Galindo, it was stated that he accompanied the expedition which discovered the coast of Florida, the Espiritu Santo, the Rio Palmas and Rio de Pánuco, the Isla de Lobos, the Rio de San Pedro y San Pablo, and Almeria. Now Almeria had been named by Grijalva; it was a native town known as Nauthla or Nautechal, located on the coast some twelve leagues north of old Vera Cruz. Some time about the first of August, four of Garay's ships appeared near Vera Cruz, and sent a clerk and a few men ashore with a letter to Cortés, asking him to agree to fix a boundary line between their respective territories just beyond Almeria. The commander refused to come ashore to talk the matter over as



requested by Cortés, and sailed away leaving behind four men whom Cortés had captured by a ruse. It is probable that the ships now returned to Jamaica. An attempt was made to settle the Rio Pánuco in the following spring by his men. Some buildings must have been built, as a party remained on shore for some time. Trouble arose with the Indians, and in a fight many of the Spaniards including Pineda were killed. Some of the survivors came across the country on foot to Vera Cruz, and the ships with the remainder finally appeared there in August or September, 1520, while Cortés was in Tepeyaca.

Full accounts of the Cortés expedition up to the time of the departure of the vessel in July, 1519, were sent to Spain, and we may be sure that Garay also sent an account of his expedition. Of the former only one of the numerous letters sent is still in existence, that of the Regimiento of Vera Cruz, dated July 16. Of Garay's, no vestige remains; we only know that it must have been sent about December, 1519, as in a statement presented before the governors of Santo Domingo, December 24, 1519, by Juan Carrillo, the fiscal, it is alleged that Cortés had taken many men from Garay's fleet, and had sent the ships back with hardly enough sailors to man them. Certainly, by the summer of 1520 an account of Garay's expedition must have reached Spain, in fact, Peter Martyr in his letter from Barcelona of December 1, 1519, writes of the arrival of a letter from Garay about his expedition.

The news which Cortés had to impart to the newly elected emperor of Germany was of great moment. Nothing like it had ever before come from the Indies. Here was a great empire ruled by a king with perhaps millions of vassals who lived in a great city in the middle of a lake, like Venice. The degree of civilization to which these people had attained was demonstrated by the presents which Cortés's agents carried. The gold, no doubt, was the most acceptable, but the beauty of the feather work and the skill displayed in the gold ornaments excited the admiration of all. Great was the sensation

created by the two wheels. Plainly, here was a new country worth possessing. How is it, then, that no contemporary account of these occurrences was printed in Spain? That none has survived is, of course, no proof that none was printed, but the failure to find any contemporary mention of such a work, and the delay in printing the second letter of Cortés, indicate that there was some good reason for the failure of the printers to take advantage of such a wonderful opportunity.

The business of printing news from abroad was actively carried on at this time in Seville and Valladolid. *Relaciones, cartas, copias de cartas* or some such title heralded forth to the world the arrival of the ships from the Indies, news from Germany, Brussels, or Italy, or about the Turks. No trivial event was recorded, it had to be something marvelous, a battle or a miracle, a double-headed monster, or last but not least, some wonderful gold story. It has been frequently asserted that the first *carta de relacion* of Cortés, which he undoubtedly sent to Spain in July with the presents, was suppressed through the efforts of Benito Martín, Velásquez's agent in Spain. Velásquez had not had time to notify Martín of what had happened to Cortés, but it did not take long for him to find out. He charged Cortés with disloyalty to Velásquez, asserted that the gold belonged to Velásquez, and had influence enough to have an order issued to the authorities in Seville to seize 4,000 pesos which Montejó and Puertocarrero carried for their expenses and 4,000 pesos which Cortés had sent to his father. Another order was also issued to the same authorities not to permit any ship to leave for Mexico. Velásquez had powerful friends at court, and Cortés, an unknown adventurer, had none. Only the presents he had sent to the emperor spoke for him, ever-present reminders of other blessings to come. For over two years the matter was pending before the council of the Indies, and was not settled until after the emperor returned to Spain in July, 1522. In October of that year, Cortés was appointed captain-general of New

Spain, and his actual position made legitimate. November 8, his second letter was printed, although it had been in Spain for almost if not quite a year, possibly even more, as there are some indications that a copy which he sent to the audiencia in Santo Domingo reached Spain before the original.

During all this period, it is possible that Martín had sufficient influence to prevent the publication of Cortés's letters. These were long, and took time to set up; besides, as the emperor or the council had possession of them they were not accessible to the printers. There must, however, have been many other letters addressed to private individuals, and then Alaminos, Puertocarrero, and Montejo could talk, not to mention the fifteen sailors who came back on the ship. That the former did, we know, because Peter Martyr has incorporated in his fourth decade printed in Basle in January, 1521, information which he says he obtained from them. Extracts from letters or other pieces of information were printed abroad, some of which have all the appearance of having been translated from some news-sheet published in Spain. It is my privilege to be able to present in English dress three of these printed in Germany, the translation of which has been made by Ruth Frey Axe, an accomplished German scholar of Los Angeles. I have made a few notes to the translations, and following this introduction will be found my views of the sources of the information contained in each pamphlet and regarding other questions connected with their publication.

These little German tracts, or plaquettes, as they are sometimes called, represent forms of news-letters which seem to have been printed in large numbers in Germany and Italy in the sixteenth century. The German and Italian bankers and traders had extensive commercial relations with Spain and Portugal. The famous Fuggers of Augsburg especially were active in Spain. Communications between the different countries were none too frequent in those days, and it seems to have been the system for the correspondents of foreign houses in Spain to make up just prior to the sailing of a vessel a



general letter containing all the news which had been received since the departure of the previous vessel. When received, such information of public interest as was contained in them was then printed for the delectation of the curious. Sometimes news-sheets printed in Seville or Valladolid were translated and printed in whole or in part. Among the three tracts here translated we evidently have examples of both practices.

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### NUMBER I

This is a small quarto of eight unnumbered leaves (the last being blank). There are copies in this country in the John Carter Brown and New York public libraries.

The title mentions extracts from several letters, but it is impossible to identify any except from the letter of the *Regimiento* of Vera Cruz. It seems likely that something from this together with some other information had been printed in Spanish, but the translator saw fit only to reproduce this part, although he retained the original title. The ship with the letter of the *Regimiento*, dated July 10, 1519, reached Seville, November 5, according to two letters written November 7 and printed by Frederick Müller in 1871. The letter is now only known by what is stated to be a certified copy in the Old Imperial Library in Vienna. It is bound with manuscript copies of the three printed letters of Cortés, which furnishes some ground for the suspicion that it also had been printed. As this letter was printed in Spain in 1842, this little German tract gives us no fresh information regarding the expedition of Cortés. It has, however, the distinction of being the earliest known printed account of it, to the best of my knowledge and belief. A noticeable omission is the failure to speak of the presents, and especially of the wheel of gold and that of silver. These created a great sensation in Spain, and there is a letter extant regarding them written from Valladolid, March 7, 1520, by the papal nuncio in Spain, the archbishop of Cosenza to one Petrus de Acosta. This letter was trans-

lated into Latin and printed as a kind of appendix to an account of Grijalva's expedition, probably somewhere in Germany, and therefore after March 17, the date of publication of "Ein Auszug".

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## NUMBER II

This is a small tract in four unnumbered quarto leaves with two woodcuts duplicated. The first, which depicts the priests in a temple in Mexico sacrificing children and throwing them down the steps, is found on the first and third pages, and the other, a fanciful sketch of Mexico City with five bridges and five towers, is shown on pages five and seven. The only copy which seems to be known is in the old Royal Library in Berlin, and was reproduced in facsimile by G. M. Asher, about 1873. There is a later issue of the pamphlet in the Augsburg city library, which contains three more pages and an addition to the title-page describing their contents. A facsimile of the title will be found in Henry Harrisse's *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, Add. No. 70. The additions consist of some late news from the emperor's court in Brussels, dated March 18, 1522, and some news about the Turks. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the original issue was printed before March 18, 1522, very likely in Augsburg.

The word "also" at the beginning is a rather plain indication that something had preceded, and that we are here dealing with a translation of some piece which contained in the earlier part information the translator did not see fit to reproduce. We find in it, besides information contained in the letter of the Regimiento of July 16, 1519, or some similar source, other facts which we cannot trace to any known narrative. The description of Mexico City and the account given of Montezuma would indicate that the Spaniards had already reached that city and had been there for some time. No mention is made of the retreat from the city in July, 1520, although it is stated that Montezuma had been killed. Cortés's second

letter, which contains full information regarding these occurrences did not leave Vera Cruz, according to his own statement, until March 5, 1521, but the ships he sent to Santo Domingo with Diego de Ordaz must have departed much earlier, as the reinforcements and supplies for which he asked came to Vera Cruz in the early part of March, 1521. Ordaz evidently proceeded to Spain from Santo Domingo, as he was there in some kind of representative capacity in June, 1522. As he had made the first exploration of the Rio Coatzacoalcas, an account of which is contained in this pamphlet and nowhere else to my knowledge, it may be a fair inference that he furnished this information.

What is said about the expedition of Garay is so meager, that it is difficult to say whether or not it contains a reference to the second expedition, the news of which reached Cortés while in Tepeyaca, and probably before Ordaz left for Santo Domingo. Accounts of his first expedition must have reached Spain by the summer of 1520.

In one of Peter Marty's letters, dated March 6, 1521, he speaks of the arrival of a ship from Cuba, which brought information about people who wore clothes and had stone buildings. On the following day he indited another letter devoted to an account of Montezuma and Tenustitan, containing in concise form much the same information as is found in the document we are examining. In view of the fact that nothing had been heard in Spain from Cortés since the latter part of 1519, so far as known, information brought on this ship was probably printed in Seville or Valladolid, and formed the original of this pamphlet.

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### NUMBER III

This pamphlet contains eight unnumbered quarto leaves with a woodcut title-page, and is supposed to have been published in Augsburg by Sigmund Grimm. It could hardly have been printed much before the first of January, 1523, as it



contains a reference to the arrival of the *Victoria* in Seville, September 6, 1522. There are copies in the British Museum and in this country in the Huntington, John Carter Brown, and New York public libraries.

The reference at the end to the cloves on the *Victoria* makes it certain that the letter was written from Valladolid about November 15, 1522. October 10 an order was issued to deliver the *Victoria's* cloves to Cristoval de Haro, and November 14, Haro's agent in Seville, Diego Diaz, receipted for them. I have never seen any other document which states that the cloves were taken to Valladolid, as this letter would imply. The letter may have been one of the Fugger news-letters. Cristoval de Haro represented the house in Spain at that time. He had used their funds in financing the Magellan expedition, and as stated above, was in Valladolid at the time the letter was written.

The information contained in this letter is in large part obviously the same as that found in Cortés's letter dated October 30, 1520. Differences in certain parts taken from it, indicate that the printed letter which was published November 8, 1522, was not the direct source, and this is more especially apparent from the fact that the last part of the account of Mexico contains statements almost identical with those found in the letter of Alonso Zuazo, dated Santo Domingo, November 14, 1521, and printed by Joaquín García Icazbalceta in his *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, I. 558. Where he obtained his information he does not say, but as several of Cortés's companions, notably Diego Holguín and Diego de Ordaz, had returned to Santo Domingo some time previously, he must have obtained it from them unless he took his facts from some unknown letter from Cortés to the governors of the island, or in part from a copy of Cortés's letter of October 30, 1520, which he had sent to them. His letter is entirely devoted to a description of the Indians and the towns, nothing being said of any of Cortés's battles with the Indians or of

the retreat from Mexico. His letter, however, begins in such a way as to make us suspect that something had preceded, so it is possible that this, which has either been lost or was not copied by Muñoz, may have embodied the history of the current events.

HENRY R. WAGNER.

San Marino, California.

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## THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE ACCOUNTS

[Translated by Ruth Frey Axe]

### I

EIN AUSZUG ETTLICHER SENDBRIEFF DEM ALLER DURCHLEUCHTIGSTEN GROKMECHTIGISTE FÜRSTEN VND HERREN HERREN CARL ROMISCHEN VND HYSPANISCHĒ KÖNIG ZC. VNSERM GNEDIGEN HERĒN DURCH IRE VERORDENT HAUPTLEUT VON WEGEN EINER NEWGEFUNDĒ INSELN DER SELBĒ GELEGENHEIT VND JNWONER SITTEN Vñ GEWONHEITĒ INHALTEND VOR KURTZUERSCHINEN TAGEN ZUGESANDT.

AN EXTRACT FROM SEVERAL LETTERS SENT A FEW DAYS AGO TO HIS MOST SERENE AND POWERFUL HIGHNESS, CARL, SPANISH AND ROMAN KING AND OUR GRACIOUS LORD, BY HIS CHOSEN CAPTAINS CONCERNING A NEWLY FOUND ISLAND; ITS LOCATION; AND THE CUSTOMS AND HABITS OF ITS INHABITANTS.

On the 6th day of July, in the year of our lord 1519,<sup>1</sup> a Spanish expedition consisting of two large ships and a smaller one called a brigantine set sail toward the west under Captain Francisco de Córdova, ship's master, or under Antonio de Alaminos. They sailed from the island named Fernandina, now called by the Spaniards, Indias, to the neighboring islands in order to bring back some of their

<sup>1</sup> Córdova is supposed to have set sail February 8, 1517. This date, July 6, 1519, is that of the inventory attached to the letter written by the Regimiento of Vera Cruz, July 16. There still exists in the archives in Seville a summary of this letter in which the date is stated to have been July 6. It appears, therefore, that we have here a reference to this letter, and that the sentence should have been written something like this: "From a letter written on the 6th day of July, etc., we learn that a Spanish expedition", etc.

inhabitants as servants. They reached a land called Yucatán situated ten miles<sup>2</sup> distant from the island Fernandina. When they landed they came to a village called Campecho. The chief of this hamlet (who later wished to be purified by the holy water) they named "Lazaro". The Spaniards received as presents from the inhabitants of this same country two *parma*,<sup>3</sup> or small battle shields covered with pieces of gold and also other such small golden trinkets. But when the inhabitants of the country would not permit the Spaniards, who wished to visit their villages, to remain any longer, they left and went on to another people called Mochocoños, of the chief they call Campecho. This is about ten miles distant from the other village of Campecho.<sup>4</sup> They were received in a friendly manner by the inhabitants, but were not allowed to visit their village. That night they camped undisturbed outdoors. At daybreak, the inhabitants fell upon the Spaniards, killing twenty-six and wounding all the rest. The leader had over thirty wounds. After such a defeat he ordered the return to the island Fernandina, and reported to the lieutenant-governor of the province that he had found a country rich in gold and that it was his opinion, as he had seen the natives with pieces of pure gold hanging from their noses and their ears and many stone buildings and many other astonishing things in this country, that it would be quite useful and beneficial to send another expedition to this country for the sake of trade.

When we recognized this we got together three ships and a brigantine with the aid of the governor, and gave Juan de Grisalua [Grijalva] command over 260 men<sup>5</sup> who then arrived in the above-mentioned country, Yucatán, and reached the southern island of Yucatán, called by the natives Chosumellam [Cozumel], but by the Christians, Santa Cruz. The first town in which they landed they named "San Juan of the Golden Gates".<sup>6</sup> One hundred and fifty

<sup>2</sup> The original translator seems to have translated leagues as German miles; even so, Campeche where Córdoba landed is more than ten leagues from Cuba. The ten is probably an error for seventy, as stated in the letter of July 10, 1519.

<sup>3</sup> The letter, *Mazorcas*, ears of corn.

<sup>4</sup> The original translator is somewhat mixed. The letter states that leaving Campeche, that is, Campeche, they went ten leagues to another town named Machocobon whose chief was Champoto.

<sup>5</sup> The letter, "170 men".

<sup>6</sup> San Juan de Portalatina, named May 6.



men came out quite peacefully to meet them, but finally they all left the town and went into the forest. When Grimalua learned of this, he decided to lay in a supply of water here and then to continue his voyage toward the country called Yucatán. He intended to travel by way of the southern part toward the west until he should come to a bay, named by the natives "Ascension", where he could land.<sup>7</sup> They believed that this was situated at the extreme part of the land which they called Yboreas, a country discovered by Vincentius Yangués<sup>8</sup> adjoining the northern sea. The oft-mentioned Grimalua came there again afterward. He sailed along the north side of the country until he came to the previously mentioned people, Incampechos, whose chief was called Lazaro. There he landed to take water and to carry on trade. Notwithstanding this, the inhabitants of this village wanted to give battle to the Spaniards to prevent their entering the town. But Grimalua informed them by means of an interpreter that it was not his desire to do them any harm, but that he had come to take water and to carry on trade with them. When the natives heard this, they went with the gubernatore [Grijalva] to a lake from which they could fetch water. While they were drawing the water he asked by means of an interpreter whether they would put some gold on his things or if they would prefer to trade. To this they replied that they had no gold at all and that unless he and his people left their land immediately they would suffer no little harm. As Grimalua postponed his departure until the next day, the inhabitants gathered armed with bows and shields to give battle. A Spaniard was killed and Grimalua and many others were wounded.

Toward evening, he and his people took their departure without having seen the town or other things. They sailed with their ships a short distance from the land, until they came to a large river which they named "Grimalua" [Rio Tabasco].<sup>9</sup> The next morning after they had crossed the river<sup>10</sup> they saw about 5,000 people armed with the weapons described previously, standing on both river banks to

<sup>7</sup> There is an omission or error in this sentence, as Ascension was not named by the natives but by Grijalva himself, August 15.

<sup>8</sup> This man was Vicente Yañez Pinzón, who explored the gulf of Honduras in 1508. The Yboreas was Higuera or Hibueras, as indifferently known. In the letter as printed by Pascual de Gayangos, Hibueras appears as Las Veras.

<sup>9</sup> This river was known for a long time as the Rio de Grijalva.

<sup>10</sup> He means "reached the river".

prevent the Spaniards from entering their country. From the ship, however, Grimalua gave them to understand by means of an interpreter that he would like to invite some of them to come to him. When they heard this, twenty of them came in a small boat which they call a "canoe". By means of an interpreter he tried to make them believe<sup>11</sup> that he would like to make a pact with them if they had gold which they would trade for goods. During the following days, the natives brought small gold trinkets with which they traded with him. This done, he trusted his sails to the winds until he reached a bay, which he ordered to be named "San Juan".<sup>12</sup> There he landed accompanied by a small escort. When the inhabitants saw him and his ships approaching they came to him and as they heard that he wished to trade with them, they brought some silken ornaments<sup>13</sup> and other trinkets. Grimalua ordered those, either here or elsewhere, who had gold in their possession to send it to the governor of the island Fernandina. He sailed not far from this country, about fifty-six miles,<sup>14</sup> in order to learn more about this land, but we must admit that we have not enough information concerning his experiences.

After the boats sent by Agrimalua [Grijalva] to the governor of the island Fernandina had arrived, he got together a fleet of ten ships, on which there were 400 foot soldiers and sixteen horsemen. These he placed under the command of one Captain Ferdinand Cortés, citizen and judge of the city of Santiago, on the same island Fernandina. This Ferdinand came first to the previously mentioned island Cothumellam [Cozumel], which the Christians had named "Santa Cruz". There he landed at the small town San Juan of the Golden Gates, but the town was deserted. In order to find out why the inhabitants had left, he ordered his men to take up their habitation there. He captured several black natives in a small boat and learned from them that the lords of all these islands, who call themselves *caciques*, had taken their subjects and gone out into the world with them because they were ignorant as to why the Spaniards occupied their islands. But Ferdinand, the captain, was able to make them understand through an interpreter that he did not wish to do them any harm, but on the contrary, to convert them to the holy Christian faith, and that

<sup>11</sup> That is, "gave them to understand".

<sup>12</sup> That is, "San Juan de Ulua".

<sup>13</sup> There was no silk in Mexico; the letter, "pieces of clothing".

<sup>14</sup> The letter, "forty-five leagues".

they should submit to the rule of the Christian king just like the inhabitants of the other islands who were obedient to the Spaniards in all things. But these island people had become bolder and said that they wished to submit such matters to their authorities, whom they respected, and who would soon arrive, and that Ferdinand should explain his intentions to them. As they went to summon their superiors, Ferdinand gave them a letter in which he made them promises of safety if they would come to trade or if they wished to return home again. After these people took their departure, no one appeared at the appointed time. In order that the inhabitants, because of their fear, should not be moved perhaps to leave the islands, the Spanish leader sent two captains, with 100 men each, with orders to march through various parts of the islands. In case they should meet one or more of the caciques, they were to inform them that they should not entertain any idea that harm would come to them, but on the contrary, that he begged them to discard their fears and to come to him, as he had many things to tell them concerning the Christian king. Ferdinand gave the captains earnest commands to do them no harm, either to their persons or their possessions.

The captains, having obeyed the orders of the captain, returned in four days, and informed him that all the towns they had found were deserted; nevertheless, they brought ten of the natives of the island with them. They had captured these without doing them any injury and there was one very distinguished among them. Ferdinand sent word to this one that he had not come with the intention of separating them from their possessions, nor to do them harm, but that he had come for the king of Spain to tell them certain things which would be to their great advantage (if they would acquiesce), and therefore he should go and call the other caciques and bring them with him. He immediately went out to the island and stayed there with them for two days and then returned with a cacique who, they said, rules over all the islands. In his presence the Spanish captain protested again, as he had so often done before, that he had no evil intentions; that he only wished them to accept the Christian faith, which would lead them into heaven; to submit to the all-powerful king of Spain, to whom the greater and noblest part of the world was subject; and to fear nothing any more, for if they would agree to this the great lord of Spain would do much good for them. Caciquis, the sovereign of



these islands, answered that the matter as presented was agreeable to him and sent immediately to summon the other caciques in his name. At their ruler's command they came and heard a report of what the Spanish captain had said. When this was done they returned home to their towns and villages where they continued to live peacefully and without any more fear of the Spaniards.

In the meantime, the captain learned that several Spaniards had been forcibly kept for seven years in these islands. He therefore ordered several of the natives to go to the Spaniards, who were being detained there, and inform them that the way was now safe and that if they would come to him he would be ready to help and protect them. After they had left, the Spanish captain, being inexperienced in the ways of the island, feared that the matter might be different and that he had been wrongly advised as to the rescue of the Spaniards, so he sent forty men together with three of the natives in two brigantines to search the islands and see if they could find the Spaniards and bring them to him. They took their leave but were gone so long that the captain decided to go with the whole fleet to look for those Spaniards. Just as he was about to leave, he was prevented from so doing by the sudden outburst of a great thunderstorm. Shortly afterward, however, a small boat such as the natives call "canoe" came into the port which the captain had intended to leave. In this, together with several of the natives, there was a Spaniard by the name of Gerónimo de Aguilar, one of those for whose rescue the captain had sent two boats. This Gerónimo reported that it would be not only difficult, but according to his opinion, impossible to rescue the Spaniards, as had been planned, because they were scattered through the whole island (which is really very large). So the captain ordered the sailing of the whole fleet, which had been begun, to be continued, although he did not like to do this, partly because he feared his Spaniards would not obey, and partly because they were beginning to feel a scarcity of bodily nourishment, which he could have obtained peacefully because of his friendship with the natives of the island who were like subjects of the king of Spain.

Before we continue with the experiences of the captain, it is necessary to tell something about the fertility, or rather the sterility, of these islands, and something about the habits and customs of their people. This island is quite small. It has no rivers but many wells.

It is quite fruitful with honey and wax. Its inhabitants worship idols and when the Christians punished them for this they asked that they be given another commandment by which they could live. So the Christians instructed these natives in the [faith]; in a house they set up a wooden cross with the image of the mother of God and told the natives to come here when they were in distress or when they needed help. This the natives promised to do.

Now, when the captain had captured the island in this wise he left and sailed to another island, called Yucatan. He sailed along the northern coast until he came to the river, namely, the one called Grisolua [Rio Tabasco]. As this river was too small for his large ships he arranged to transfer his soldiers to brigantines and the smaller vessels. Then he came to a town where the inhabitants stood on the banks of the river. He informed them through an interpreter, and especially through Gerónimo de Aguilar, that he did not mean to do them any harm but that he had come to tell them about the Christian king, and that this might be more conveniently done, he begged to be allowed to land and to stay at least the night there with his companions, as they could hardly do otherwise since after sunset they could not return to their large ships and the small ones could barely bring them here let alone hold all of them. The island people replied that they would be glad to hear what he had to say, but that he should take care not to put foot on land or he would meet with the greatest dangers. After these words, they threatened the Christians with crossbows.<sup>15</sup> As the sun was now setting, the captain landed a short distance from the town. There he rested the same night. The next day some of the inhabitants came out in a small boat to the captain, bringing with them some chickens and maize, which they use instead of bread, and told the captain to be satisfied with this and now to go away. The captain, however, did not wish to do this and said to them that he did not like to leave under any consideration until he had learned more about this country. To this the islanders were entirely opposed, and would in no wise agree to it, so the captain ordered his men to march into the town. He sent 200 men by a road which led to the town and kept eighty armed men with him across from the town. The inhabitants were skilled in war and bold enough to threaten the Spaniards saying they should not land, but in case they

<sup>15</sup> The letter, "bows and arrows".

ventured to do so anyway, there would be a serious battle. This they said so that the Spaniards would not think that they lacked the courage to defend their fatherland. When the captain heard this he asked the notary, whom he had on his ship, to write a testimonial that he had proposed peace to the islanders. Then, immediately, though<sup>16</sup> the Spaniards had landed, he turned the artillery on the natives of the island and wounded several. Although some of the Spaniards were also wounded, they attacked the natives and these soon fled to the woods. Thus the Spaniards came into possession of the town.

Toward evening of the following day two messengers, sent by the chief of the islanders, came to Fernandino and brought several golden trinkets of little value. They said that they brought these to him so that he would leave their country. Fernandino answered that he did not wish to be troublesome to them in any way and that he would take his departure as soon as they would acknowledge themselves as subject to the Christian king, the most powerful of all kings, who, under his good rule, would protect them from the attacks of their enemies and who, with his great kingly power, would show them much kindness. They replied that they would gladly be subject to this king if Fernandino would not prolong his stay. Ferdinand agreed to this and with a sign of peace gave them to understand that he and his people had no more supplies and asked them to be kind enough to give him some. This the islanders agreed to do. They did not keep their word, however, and when the Spaniards suffered from great hunger, 200 joined together and on the third day obtained permission from Ferdinando to go in search of provisions. They were met by islanders who were not willing that they should look for food or go into a town. When they began to fight, twenty Spaniards were wounded. Had Ferdinand not come to their aid, most of them would have been slain. Ferdinand thought that this was not the proper time for a battle so he told them to return to their quarters. When he thought the matter over he anticipated that the natives would return and raise a demand for indemnity on account of the damage done to them by the Spaniards, so he ordered the horses to be brought<sup>17</sup> and his men to be prepared and in fighting formation. In order that he should not neglect any of the official formalities he sent several messengers

<sup>16</sup> The letter, "before".

<sup>17</sup> That is, "from the ships".

with an interpreter to the caciques to tell them that he desired peace. However, when these did not return at all, the Spaniards were prepared and had two armies ready. Ferdinand alone with twelve<sup>18</sup> horsemen made up the vanguard. While the Spaniards were making these preparations a great host of islanders, not only great in numbers but all armed to the teeth, ran up to them and said that unless they left their island immediately they would start a war. The Spaniards should see that here were men ready to protect their fatherland with body and soul and to fight even unto death. But the Spaniards would not withdraw and they began to fight. Soon the first column was sore pressed by the inhabitants and gave a sign which called the others to their assistance. While both columns were fighting there came an innumerable multitude of islanders who exhorted each other to protect the freedom of their fatherland and to combat this injustice. Thus the battle lasted for two hours. The islanders, who trusted to their numbers, were bold enough to surround the Spaniards so that they could not escape. This they would have accomplished if the captain with his vanguard of horsemen had not craftily overridden them. When the Spaniards saw this they became more courageous and fought the enemy more valiantly. The novelty of men on horseback not only astonished the natives but frightened them so that they fled. The Spaniards pursued them for a whole mile. Ferdinand then gave a signal and called his men back again to quarters. Though twenty of the Spaniards were wounded, none were fatally injured.

Ferdinand sent two of the prisoners to the caciques to ask for peace regardless of the past battle. After the caciques had heard this legation, they replied that they were quite ready to make peace with the Spaniards and to be subjects of the Spanish king. They therefore begged the Spaniards to do them no more harm, as they had suffered enough already, for 220 of their people had been killed in the battle. The Spaniards were pleased with this answer and received the caciques in a very friendly way. Ferdinand pledged them to be in duty bound and to render loyalty to the king of Spain. He asked them how many had participated in the last battle. They replied that there had been 40,000 and that the country was divided into eight provinces, each of which had sent 5,000 to war. The Spanish army remained in the same region for five days, and then they

<sup>18</sup> The letter, "ten".



made ready to leave so as to complete their voyage. The inhabitants gave them 150 weights of gold as a mark of their bondage. A weight of this gold which was brought to the Spaniards is worth one castelan [*castellano*].<sup>19</sup> This gold had not been dug out of the ore but had been obtained through trade. This shows the poverty of the region which is fruitful, however, in all other things. They have maize, mentioned above, of which they make bread. They have many fish and many other things which serve as food for the inhabitants. In the meanwhile, the Christians grew impatient with them because of their worship of idols and therefore punished them and told them several things concerning the Christian ministry. They listened quietly to this, put the cross in a high place and promised to do great honor to it.

The Spaniards went from this harbor to another called San Juan, on the same side of the island.<sup>20</sup> As the sun set just at their arrival none of the Spaniards set foot on land. However, on the next day the captain landed with a good many of his men. He told two caciques whom he met that he did not wish to be arbitrary but that he had come to them for their own good, namely, to have them accept the Christian religion and acknowledge the Spanish king as their temporal lord. He therefore begged them to go to their people and to the other caciques and present these matters to them. In order that the caciques should be encouraged when they went to summon the others the Spanish captain gave them two garments, two doublets, one made of velvet and the other of silk, two red silk caps, and two pairs of woven trousers, which the Spaniards call "*Carahitelles*"<sup>21</sup> because of their width. After having heard the Spanish message the caciques unanimously decided that they wished to send the most distinguished one of their number to the Spaniards. When he had come and heard the matters proposed by the Spaniards, he replied that he and the other caciques would gladly acknowledge the powerful lord and king of the Spaniards and would be obedient to him in all things. As this pleased the Spanish captain he presented him immediately with a beautiful shirt and doublet made of velvet, also with trousers made of the same mate-

<sup>19</sup> This sentence is interpolated.

<sup>20</sup> "*On the same side of the island*" is interpolated. The whole country discovered was at first known as Yucatan, and by some thought to be an island.

<sup>21</sup> That is, *Zaragüelles*, undoubtedly the correct reading and not as in the letter, *Cascabeles*, that is, bells. It seems probable that the copy of the letter in Vienna was not faithfully made from the original.

rial<sup>22</sup> and other garments all decorated and ornamented. He left, but returned the next day in order to thank the captain and brought with him a carpet made of silk<sup>23</sup> and also several small golden trinkets, and with peace and goodwill invited the Spaniards into his town. The Spaniards realized that this region was rich in all the necessities of life so they decreed that they would live in the small town. When this was done, they moved into the villages and into the small town, which they called "Vera Cruz".<sup>24</sup> They chose several among their number who administered daily with peace and justice. They decided to send several messengers with letters to the Christian king, in which was written what has been related, and they sent along all the gold and treasures that they had obtained up to that time.

CONCERNING THE CUSTOMS AND HABITS OF THE PEOPLE AND THE  
FERTILITY AND THE BUILDINGS OF THIS ISLAND

For about fifty miles toward the sea on both sides of the town (which the Spaniards now occupy) this country is entirely level. On one side there are two miles of sand and on the other two sides there are good meadows watered by rivers. Spain has no better meadows and cannot offer a prettier sight. These are truly the best pastures. This country has an abundance of all game animals such as wild boar, deer, wild goats, quail, pigeons, turtle doves and other such fowl, rabbits, hares, etc. The country is so endowed with fowl and quadrupeds that it hardly yields first place to Spain. There are lions and tigers and many large and high mountains. But one surpasses them all with its wonderful height. One can only see its summit on an absolutely clear day. Its peak is all white so that one might think that it is covered with snow if the heat of this region was not inconsistent with such an idea.<sup>25</sup> One can see clearly from the great number of things that were brought to the Christian king that this country has an abundance of gold, silver, precious stones, and other valuable ob-

<sup>22</sup> The letter, *Cinta de oro*, a gold belt. We can be quite sure that Cortés did not give away any gold belts, another indication that errors were made in making the copy in Vienna.

<sup>23</sup> In the letter, "*manta blanca*", a white cotton cloth.

<sup>24</sup> Really Villa Rica de Vera Cruz. The town did not then exist. It was afterward located farther north.

<sup>25</sup> This was Orizaba. The letter contains much the same statement, but adds that the natives told them that the white on the mountain was snow.

jects. The people have well formed bodies, are of medium height and have pretty faces. However, they make themselves ugly for they bore holes in nose, ears, and lips and hang jewels and gold rings in them. The stones which they put in their lips force their mouths wide open so that it is horrible to see. They clothe their nakedness in vari-colored garments and cover their whole bodies with colored cloaks. This is the clothing of the upper classes, but the women and the lower classes wear various garments that reach from the loins to the feet. The nobles are dressed in great silken shirts. Their food is of maize as we mentioned already. They go fishing and hunting. They fatten chickens until they are as large as peacocks. There are many small towns. There are many small stone buildings and some adobe ones. The roofs are made of straw. The dwellings are mostly all low but, notwithstanding this, they are generally very pretty, especially those which belong to the most distinguished people. The rooms are well laid out. They have wells and there are special rooms for the servants, as they have a superfluity of rooms. There is a large courtyard at the entrance of the house. Some of the houses have three or four of these courtyards, with steps leading from one to the other. The people take walks there and they are well suited for social purposes. Their churches are similar houses, wherein they worship stone, limestone,<sup>28</sup> and wooden idols. The way that they worship and adore these idols is almost incredible. The houses in which they keep them are the most beautiful and are decorated with carpets and many other things. The first thing they do every day is to honor their gods. In this service they burn incense and at times sacrifice themselves. So that their idols will be more gracious to them they cut off their ears and their tongues with sharp knives. They offer their blood to the idols, spread it on the walls and throw it on the altar. They have a still more horrible custom of worship which the Spaniards have seen. When they have a great desire which they wish the idols to grant, they bring a young child and place it before the idol, and then take out its beating heart and offer it as a sacrifice. They do this so often that no year passes in which there are not 5,000 people killed in this way. Inasmuch as these islanders are so assiduous in their service of the gods whom they believe to be divine, one may expect them to be very devout when they are taught the divine creed.

<sup>28</sup> The letter, "*barro*", clay.

Postnubila serenitas

P. C. D.

Traducebat.

Printed in the imperial city of Nürnberg by Friedrich Peypus and happily completed on the 17th day of March in the 1520th year after the birth of Christ our dear Lord.

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## II

NEWE ZEITUNG VON DEM LANDE DAS DIE SPANIER FUNDEN HABEN YM  
1521 IARE GENANT JUCATAN.

LATE NEWS OF THE COUNTRY CALLED YUCATAN WHICH THE SPANIARDS  
DISCOVERED IN THE YEAR 1521.

Also. The Spaniards sailed from Seville to the island of Cuba. They sailed fifty-two miles from Cuba and there found a small island with only two old women on it. These women claimed to be priestesses. When the lords of the land, that is, of the surrounding country, wish to fight each other they consult these two women as to whether they will be victorious or not. These same women are great sorceresses. They conjure the devil. He comes to them in his satanic form and talks personally with them, and what he tells them they transmit to those who have consulted them.

Also. Near this same island they found another large one and on it a large city inhabited by many people. There is much wax and honey on this island. Two miles distant they found a large country in which there is a large city situated on the banks of a great river, called Gugolffa [Grijalva]. The people of this city gave many gifts to the Spaniards, especially gold, cotton clothing, and cotton blankets, as well as a great variety of objects made of parrot feathers. Much gold is found in this country. The houses have thatched roofs and walls of stone. There is a town hall in the city wherein the law is administered properly. There is a market place in the city where they buy and sell the gold that they need. There is a fruit, like the almond seed, from which they make wine, which they drink. They have weights and measures with which they sell and buy. Their bread is made of millet. They have no other meat than fowl and fish. The churches and temples in which they keep their idols are strong buildings like castles. From this country they went to an-



other country named "Kochoquaquo" [Coatzacoalcos], where they found a great river in which there is much gold.<sup>27</sup> The source of this river is eighty miles from the sea, and it rises in two places. Between them there is an extraordinarily large city, the richest in gold in the whole country. In this same city, they carry on trade like merchants; they keep account books and such as they have are made of bark. There are many fine goldsmiths here and artists. All their paintings are figures of the devil. There are trees that bear red fruit which looks like strawberries but tastes like cloves.

Also. From this country they sailed thirty-seven miles on the river, mentioned above, called the Kochoquaquo, where they found two small islands. On each island there is a temple. In the center of each temple before the idols, there is a round table on which rests a great marble slab. On this table they sacrifice the children in the following way. When one king wishes to fight another king he assembles his people around him for eight days previous and begins to sing and dance with them. In their song they invoke the devil whom they call "Zuny", and after they have sung and danced for a long time, then Zuny, or the devil,<sup>28</sup> appears to them in the form of one who has died a short time before. They ask him if they will win or lose the battle. He replies to the king and says that he should take the children of such and such men. So the king takes twelve to eighteen children, just as he pleases at the moment, and orders them brought to the island mentioned above. There they make the children dance around the idols in the temple. After this their priests take the children, one after the other, and lay them on the stone, which is on the round table, and cut off their hands and feet, which they themselves keep to eat. After this they cut the bodies open and take the blood out and spread it over the idols. Then they throw the bodies down over the stairs and those who are present pick them up and eat them. When the bodies are eaten, the devil appears again and tells them whether or not they will be victorious. Should it happen that they are not victorious, they take again the same number of children that they took before and do to them what they did to the first ones.

<sup>27</sup> Cortés did not stop at this river; an expedition went there later from Vera Cruz.

<sup>28</sup> Peter Martyr calls these devils "zemes" and says they were a kind of nocturnal goblin worshiped by the Caribs. The Mexicans so far as known did not use the name.

As they generally wage many wars among each other this causes the sacrifice of many children during the year.<sup>29</sup>

Also. Not far from the island mentioned above, there is a country called Samptua [Cempoalla], of which the principal city is also called Samptua. The king of this same city wages war with the king of Great Venice so-called.<sup>30</sup> From this fortress he makes great friendly advances to the Castilians for them to help him against the king Mathotzoma [Montezuma], who is the lord of Great Venice, and the most powerful king in these same countries. The king of Samptua presented the captain with a sun made of gold, as large as a wagon wheel and as thick as a fist, and with a moon of silver just as large and thick. He also gave him many golden vessels, a crab made of gold, arm greaves, and spiked helmets, all made of gold; and many blankets made of cotton as well as many other strangely made garments.<sup>31</sup> The people of this same country, when they are young, bore a hole in the lower lip and put two pieces of gold into this hole between the lips and teeth. This raises their lips high, and makes them have thick lips, which they consider to be very pretty.

There is a lake six<sup>32</sup> miles farther inland which has a circumference of fifty miles. In the center there is a large city of seventy thousand dwellings. The Christians call this city "Great Venice". There are three more cities on the same lake. Great Venice has five gates. At each there is a bridge which reaches to the land, and there are many drawbridges with their towers on these same five bridges, so that the city is impregnable. Water flows through all the streets. In Great Venice it is salt water. There is another large, high bridge on which they can bring fresh water into boats on the lake. And Madozama [Montezuma] is king of this city. Around this lake there are many large cities inhabited by strong people. All of these cities are well constructed. The housetops are built so that one can walk from one to the other and the roofs are made of pure silver, lime, and sand. The city called Great Venice is extraordinarily rich in gold, cotton, wax, and honey. They have market there every day to which forty to fifty thousand people come daily. They use copper coins and have weights and measures. They have good laws. Their bread is

<sup>29</sup> This is usually related of the *Isla de Sacrificios*.

<sup>30</sup> Mexico City was frequently called Venice in the early narratives.

<sup>31</sup> These were the presents sent by Cortés in the ship which left in July, 1519.

<sup>32</sup> Six for sixty, probably.

made of millet. The only animals in the country are dogs which they fatten and eat. They eat much honey and also human flesh. They are very obedient to their king. If he tells one of them to go into the woods and die there, he goes there immediately, eats nothing and dies of starvation. If he tells one to go and hang himself, then he goes immediately and does so. They are so faithful to each other, that if one tells another something in secret, that one would rather be cut into pieces than disclose what he had been told.

Also. The captain of the Spaniards made peace with the king Madozoma, lord of Great Venice, and asked him to allow him and his people to see the city, and the king promised, and then went back to the city and called his counsellors about him and told them that he had promised the Christian that he could come into the city. His men answered that they would not permit such a thing, as the Christian would capture the city if he were allowed to enter it. They imprisoned the king so that he could not allow the Christians to enter the city. Then the king told his people to kill him as he could not keep his word and to make his son king. The people did as their king commanded and made his son king.<sup>33</sup> These people are skilled archers; they shoot sharpened stones in their bows, so pointed that they go through armor.

Also. The Castilians traveled 400 miles from Samptua to where they found another country called Mizella. They came to a great river called Ponnio [Pánuco], and on the banks of this river found a large city called Athan.<sup>34</sup> They sent two small boats up the river and found many other cities on its banks. The inhabitants of this country are mostly sorcerers and sorceresses. When they saw the two boats

<sup>33</sup> These are not the facts, according to any other account, and could hardly have been communicated directly by an eyewitness.

<sup>34</sup> What is meant by this is quite uncertain. Cortés started off an expedition from Vera Cruz for the Pánuco, but he never says what became of it, but as he never later claimed that it had reached that river, it is plain that it never did. The Mizella seems to be an error for Mizteca, but that does not help us any. It is probable that the writer mixed up some expedition of Cortés with that of Garay, which he then proceeds to describe. A reference to the so-called Turin map reproduced by Henry Harrisse in his *Discovery of North America*, enables us to identify Athan in all probability with the Laotom which appears on that map at the forks of the Rio Pánuco. The map depicts the discoveries of the first expedition of Garay in the Gulf of Mexico. The information which follows does not seem to occur elsewhere.

approaching, several of them drew a circle and pierced their tongues with a fish bone, thinking that with this conjury and magic they could keep the boats from landing. But this availed them nought and the ships could land. The people are dressed in cotton garments. Both the people and country are rich in gold and other merchandise.

Also. One hundred and thirty miles from the city of Athan there is an island called Laflaritten [La Florida]. The people on this island are extraordinarily malicious.<sup>35</sup> They are skilled archers. On the same island there are many bears, deer, lions, and other animals, fish especially, as we have in our country.

In all these countries and islands just described, they write that there is so much gold that it does not count for much. Several have left Seville to go to these countries and about a thousand are taking measures to increase greatly the trade between Seville and these countries.

Also. You shall know that there are people in these countries who worship idols. There are some among them who worship no deity but pray only to Zunÿ. This is the devil, whom they regard as a lord and whom they fear, but they do not hold him to be a god. They talk with him, and he appears to them now in one form and now in another. At times this Zunÿ, the devil, causes a great thunderstorm which he reveals to them before it occurs, and this is why they fear him. Many other things are said about this country, and it is written that there is still much to write about it.

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### III

EIN SCHÖNE NEWE ZEYTUNG SO KAYSERLICH MAYESTET AUS INDIA  
YETZ NEMLICH ZUKOMMEN SEIND. CAR HUPSCH VÖ DEN NEWEN  
YNSELN VND VON YREM SYTTEN GAR KURTZWEYLIG ZULEESEN.

A BEAUTIFUL NEW LETTER JUST RECIEIVED FROM INDIA BY HIS IMPERIAL  
MAJESTY. IT IS REALLY VERY DIVERTING AND INTERESTING TO READ  
ABOUT THE NEW ISLANDS AND THEIR CUSTOMS.

Several new letters just recently received from India by his imperial majesty.

<sup>35</sup> Florida was at that time supposed to be an island. The Indians were not so malicious as they were great fighters, much the same thing in the opinion of the Spaniards of those days.



Although our most serene and most victorious sovereign and master, Ferdinand, king of Spain, was able by the grace and providence of God, the Almighty, to exterminate the Mohammedan heresy which had forcibly entered and established itself for many years in several of the Spanish kingdoms; though he persecuted and destroyed it even into Africa and thereby did a great service in the increase of and addition to Christianity; though he is lauded and acclaimed from all sides for his good deeds and as a servant of our Christian faith and a protector and enlarger of Christianity, he deserves still greater and more immortal praise. For it was in his gracious and happy reign and by reason of his great intelligence, and the aid and assistance his people gave him, that so many countries and people who, since the creation of the world, had existed in error, were now converted to Christianity. According to the information of those who have described the location and shape of the whole world it was thought to be impossible and unnatural that a certain country could be inhabited, but through the will and decree of the Almighty God the people there now for the most part have voluntarily entered the Christian community and faith. This also was accomplished by his imperial majesty. They are still sought daily and brought in great numbers to as regular and as civilized a life as is known to us.

When Cristofferus Coloanus, a Genoese, began a voyage he brought it to a fortunate conclusion. Sufficient has been said, written, and heard about this voyage from which this noble Colchidean did not return with a golden sheep or fleece, but from where he brought countless riches and possessions and all manner of things and the most beautiful fruit. He found many countries and people who up to now had been in the power of cruel Mohammed and who had been kept from our faith. These he converted and brought to our true Christian creed.

In the year 1492, with the aid and assistance of King Ferdinand, five ships called caravelas sailed from Spain with 220 picked men. At first, after they had sailed in that great tempestuous sea for more than a month they found the island Hispaniola which is about 200 miles or *leguas* from the city of Seville in Spain. (A *legua* is a Spanish mile and about three-quarters of a German mile. It should be understood as such from now on.) After they left Hispaniola they came to the island of Cuba distant about thirty miles. It is situated

among many other islands, and for the sake of brevity I shall not describe them here, but shall tell only about what has been found most recently. In the year '93 Coloanus discovered the great country sometimes called Terra Firma but generally the New World, but by reason of its great size and because the ships had been almost wrecked by their long journey, he was forced to leave it unexplored in order to return to report the experiences of his travels to the king of Spain. His majesty thereupon dispatched a new *armada* and ships, which arrived in the country called Terra Firma known by the two names of Pariam [Paria] and Brabam [Braba]. There they found gold, jewels, and pearls which they brought with them, but from which country I do not know exactly. His imperial majesty, as king of Spain, still continues to explore there unceasingly and though he has not the necessary means at his disposal, greater countries and cities have been found than were ever discovered before. New discoveries are still made daily and the following letters were received in the month of September of this year.

About how Diego Vilasto [Velásquez], governor of the island of Cuba, has recently found the country in Cathan [Yucatan] (his majesty has not yet been informed whether or not it is a part of this great country or land); and about how he sent one of his excellent captains named Fernando Cortés into this great country and land called Terra Firma; and about how he found this country, towns, and people, which I shall now describe.

On the 17th day of August, in the year 1515 [1519], he sailed from the island of Santa Cruz with seventeen horses, and 304 foot soldiers.<sup>36</sup> He first found the state which the natives call Compoal [Cempoalla] and which we call Semilla [Sevilla], for its location compares to that of Semilla in Spain. There is a town of 1,000 hearths with two rivers flowing through it. Here there are many stone bridges, and a market place where from morning to midnight all kinds of food and necessities are sold. Thirty thousand people come daily to this market place. Then he found a small country of 6,000 hearths which was called Sincuhimelca.<sup>37</sup> Two miles further on he found a market-town, but the houses were placed far apart. Istacmastitan<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Cortés set sail from Santiago de Cuba, November 18, 1518, and from Santa Cruz, that is, Cozumel, early in March.

<sup>37</sup> Cortés's *Relacion*, "Sienchamalen".

<sup>38</sup> Cortés's *Relacion*, "Iztacmastitan".

is a town situated on a hill or height four miles long. Close by there is as beautiful a castle as one can see anywhere. As the town wars daily with its enemies there is a wall twenty feet thick surrounding, enclosing, and fortifying the town, the height, and the whole valley.

Dastalchecka<sup>39</sup> is a country ninety miles long. Here there is a large army and Cortés had serious battles with them, for his men numbered only 30,000 and 50,000 against 100,000. He finally defeated them and brought them to submission, and up to now they still keep good faith. It is said that the capital city is larger than Granada in Spain.

Another city called Cirenstital,<sup>40</sup> which our men could see from the top of the temple there had 20,000 hearths and its suburbs about the same number. This city had 400 portals.

Amaqmockha,<sup>41</sup> is situated in the country of Calzo [Chalco]. This city has 20,000 hearths. The location and beginning of the country of Mexico.

Beyond all this there is another country, high and surrounded by rugged mountains. It is called Colue<sup>42</sup> or Mexico. There is a plain seventy miles long and wide, fifty miles of which is occupied by two great lakes. One of these is sweet and the other is salt water. They are thirty miles in width and length and are separated by a hill which looks like a great tower. On this hill there is a level place which sometimes is as wide as the range of a crossbow, but which varies with the sea tides.<sup>43</sup> On the shores of the lakes many beautiful towns are situated, and one travels to and from them in small boats which the natives call "canoes". About as far in the lake as a cross-bow can shoot, there is a city which has a thousand times a thousand houses.

Istoplapa is a city of 10,000 houses and is built partly in the water and partly on land.<sup>44</sup>

Cuxuaca has 6,000 houses and is also built partly in water and partly on land, but most of it on land.<sup>45</sup> These towns and countries of which I have now spoken are situated on the lake on the right hand

<sup>39</sup> The *Relacion*, "Tascalteca", now known as Tlaxcala.

<sup>40</sup> The *Relacion*, "Churultecal", the modern Cholula.

<sup>41</sup> The *Relacion*, "Amaqueruca", Amecameca.

<sup>42</sup> The *Relacion*, "Culua".

<sup>43</sup> Cortés did not say this, but that the salt lake flowed over this at high water.

<sup>44</sup> The *Relacion*, "Ixtapalapa", still the same.

<sup>45</sup> Perhaps "Niciaca", as in the *Relacion*, although the name has more resemblance to Coyohuacan, as Coyoacan was then called.

road to Demischican [Mexico]. This is the capital of the whole country and it would be impossible for many other towns and cities to exist close by or at some distance.

#### ABOUT THE GREAT CITY OF DEMISCHICAN

Demischican is the largest of all the cities of the whole country and is the capital of this country of Mexico. It is about two or three miles from the shores of the salt lake and has about 70,000 houses, many beautiful streets, large stone palaces and buildings, and several bridges leading from the land to the city. There are pipes on one of these bridges through which sweet water flows to the market place in the city, just like the aqueduct in ancient Rome, and there are huge wooden beams that cover one side of the pipe so that no boat can accidentally bump against it.<sup>46</sup> There are also many large stores and market places in the city and especially a great temple which they call "caes"<sup>47</sup> and which is very well built. This has forty portals and the smallest is higher than the one at Sevilla which is considered much higher than the one at Andorff. Next to the doors there is a large column or pyramid built like a tower and made of a mixture of earth, gold, and money. They worship this pillar and we found out that a great treasure is built into it. The cloister of this temple is so large that a city with 5,000 houses could be put within.

The people of this land are skilful, and are warlike after the manner of their country. There are many great and powerful lords and rulers and the whole country of Mexico is obedient to their king Mantetunia,<sup>48</sup> who is a lord. In their language they call these rulers Seckloes [caciques]. As soon as Mantetunia heard that these people had come from the most powerful lord of the whole world, he received them honorably and submitted obediently to your imperial majesty, and told them that it is related in the prophecies handed down from their ancestors that one day a lord of the whole world would find them, and come to them with the people who lived in their country in ancient times and from whom they are descended.

This Mantetunia has many large and beautiful palaces, the doors of which are even seventy or ninety feet wide, with such a maze of

<sup>46</sup> This last is not in the *Relacion*.

<sup>47</sup> *I.e.*, *cues*.

<sup>48</sup> Montezuma.



corridors that those who loiter there cannot find their way out so easily and sometimes get lost. The country has an abundance of gold, pearls, and precious stones, and the palace contains an enormous treasure. There are many beautiful gardens and parks such as have never been seen before, and many strange trees and fruits unknown to us, and a beautiful and rare zoölogical garden in which there are many strange fowl and animals of this country such as tigers, lions, leopards, wild boars, and lizards, as well as strangely shaped human beings from among their own people and foreigners. All these are kept separated.

The subjects of this country do great honor to the king and when he wishes to go into the city or to take an excursion, four of his most excellent counsellors carry him, but they are not allowed to touch him with their bare hands and must wrap their hands in pieces of beautiful cloth. Then when the great Deckloes [caciques] and lords come to court, they lean on the arms of their servants and follow their king, together with a great number of their people. None of the lords are so powerful and bold that they dare come into the presence of the king and speak to him privately face to face. Those who wish to talk to him go to him, and as soon as they enter his room they go to the corner farthest from him and kneel there with bent head. In this position they remain until he motions them to speak or commands them to keep silent, according to how he feels. They must do as he says and must take their departure with the same signs of respect as when they came.

Such reverence and respect toward the great lords and rulers is displayed by the common man. In the city there are also many other large temples decorated with gold and beautiful paintings. Here they worship their idols which are made of stone and wood, but mostly those made of grain, which they gather at night from their wheat, and grind and then mix with good-smelling seeds and gum. They also mix this dough with the blood of little boys and then shape it into a great face which resembles the sun.<sup>49</sup> This is supposed to help them in war and to supply their daily needs. There are a great many small boys whom they have captured in various wars, kept together in a large building. These are brought daily to be sacrificed before this idol. Every morning they take one or more of the boys, dress

<sup>49</sup> This resemblance does not seem to have been mentioned by Cortés.

them up, decorate them with beautiful feathers, and lead them through the city with great pomp to the sound of trumpets and kettle drums until they reach the temple. There they lean their victim against a bench so that his head is lower than his breast. Then they take a sharp stone instrument keener than any razor, and with one stroke cut open his breast so that his lungs immediately fall out. Then they prick his heart with thorns in such a way that the blood spurts over them toward the sun. Then they take the heart while it is still beating and carry it to the sun where they sacrifice it. They spread the blood over the face, throat, hands, and feet of the idol, and the priests keep the best parts and either give the others away or sell them.

They have other priests, as well as various orders of monks. These are dressed in black and are shown great respect. From the earliest days of their youth they neither wash nor comb their hair, nor cleanse their bodies in any way,<sup>50</sup> nor have any kind of intercourse with women, and they resist all these temptations and even more serious sins to which it is easier for them to succumb. For this nation is poisoned by the most horrible sins against nature. And as we have mentioned above they bring sacrifices which from beginning to end are only made to satisfy such idols.

Those who wish to be always constant in their faith must wear a scapular with many marks on it like a cross for penance, and if they do not improve but remain sinful, they are burnt just as we burn our heretics. This nation is also very kind to the poor whom they call *Mittelemas*.<sup>51</sup> They are especially kind to the orphans who have lost both father and mother. These are provided with a master with whom they must stay until they are married or can take care of themselves in some way.

In this city there are 70,000 small boats which are used daily to carry food and produce to market. They call the marketplace *Tau-gyritz* [*Tianguéz*]. Eighty thousand people come to market after the sun has set because the market lasts until midnight. Everything that a person might need in the way of food is bought and sold here: peacocks, chickens, capons, partridges, pheasants, and many other strange fowl unknown to us, as well as wild game, cooked and uncooked, all tastefully prepared in many ways.

<sup>50</sup> This last remark does not seem to have been made by Cortés.

<sup>51</sup> Probably for *Maçehuales*.

They have also a great many kinds of grain. They grow this in large fields ten miles long and so wide that one cannot see where it stops. A large amount of honey is brought to market, which is used for both food and drink. They have a drink made of bone and another made by boiling the petals of a flower they call *magnesa* [maguey], and when this is done they break off the end and a delicious juice, said to be better than any wine, flows from the stalk. After they have boiled the honey out of the petals they make a fine *leinbet*, which far surpasses that of the Dutch. Then they make many other kinds of fine beverages for the great lords. They have grapes from which they make wine, and although these are wild they have a very fine taste.

In another part of the market place they sell gold, silver, pearls, and precious stones—all of very great value. Then, too, they sell the most beautiful artistic creations which one can imagine. The things made of feathers are especially beautiful, for they imitate everything with them and are so successful in coloring them that they look as though nature herself had made them.

They make plants and foliage of feathers and often these are so natural that not even a painter could recognize the paint. They also make all kinds of winged creatures such as sparrows, butterflies, hornets, and the like, which look so natural that when placed on small twigs and swayed by the wind they cannot be distinguished from living creatures.

At Valdeilu [Valladolid], I have just seen such colors in oddly woven scarfs which they brought to his imperial majesty from the island of Jubachaw.<sup>52</sup> Among these things I saw a butterfly with all of its natural coloring and so artistically formed and made that it lacked only life. No painter or wood carver could have given it such proportion and form. All of those works of art which we devise they make out of feathers.

They also make clothing out of feathers. They add to the garment they make head, feet, and tail, and all the colors of the animal imitated, and do this so naturally and artistically that if someone looks at the wearer he is afraid and runs away because he thinks that it is the animal. The Chinese cannot transform human beings to animals but the Indians can.

<sup>52</sup> Probably for "Cubagua".

They buy and sell many other things such as beautiful scarfs, tapestries, bedclothes, etc., all made of feathers and sometimes the garments are so light that a whole dress weighs only six ounces.

Then one finds also many shields and kinds of armor made of feathers. Some, too, are made of tigers', lions', and other skins. There are also many rare and valuable pieces of woodcarving. It is unnecessary to describe everything.

Everywhere one finds all weights and measures necessary for such commercial transactions so that no one can be harmed by a sale,<sup>53</sup> and there are overseers everywhere delegated by the state, whose duty it is to inspect the goods and see that no one is cheated. There is also a palace of justice where four judges sit. If some one steals corn, grain, or something more valuable he is sentenced to death. He is executed by a blow struck on the back of his neck with a big club.

They have the same marriage arrangement that we have and wed only one wife, but the great lords are allowed to have many. First, the interested parties come to a friendly agreement concerning the dowry. Then the marriage is set for a month later. During this time both families visit the bride and bridegroom three times a day and bring them presents of pearls, precious stones, and other valuable things. These visits last until eight days before the end of the month, on the last day of which the couple receive only presents of food. Finally, the bride is dressed in her best and brought to the groom who has not seen her once during this month of their engagement. The wedding is almost Moorish.

Afterward, when the wives are pregnant and are ready to give birth to a child they call in many women, some to act as midwives, some to see that the child is not suffocated, some to anoint the infant before it can touch the ground and some to see that the birth is a legitimate one and that no strange child is brought in.

When one of these people dies, several women are sent by the state to attend to the body. They undress the corpse and hold it by the arms in such a way that it is in a kneeling position. Then they wash it. After this someone comes with a piece of wood or bone from which a prop is made. Then the dead person is dressed all in white, and many feathers are placed on his head and he is placed in a chair with his face uncovered. He sits here for one or three hours until

<sup>53</sup> It is usually stated that the natives had no weights or measures.



some more women come. These undress and wash him again and then clothe him in red garments and feathers and put him again in his chair. All of his family and tribe then come and bewail and lament the departed. After three or four hours the men and women come again and undress and wash him as they did before and then dress him in black garments and adorn his head with black feathers. When this is done they carry him to the temple where he is cremated and only his bones remain. They take his bones and ashes and put them into an urn which they bury. They make a portrait of him on paper which they decorate with feathers. They place over the grave standards with banners, that have been used as funeral decorations. The clothes are given to the priests.

There are many other large cities situated on these two lakes, and there are many other countries and states that border on this land Mexico.

Cacata<sup>54</sup> is a town situated in a valley. It has 10,000 hearths. Another city is called Mexico or Teuenitan and has 60,000 hearths, but another city called Dexinco has 100,000 hearths.<sup>55</sup> There are many other countries that I shall not mention here because of lack of time, whose lords and rulers pay tribute to the most powerful. They give such tribute only as a sign that those who were bad have now become obedient; for instance, one lord will bring a more powerful ruler his hair, another a louse from his hair. The subjects execute immediately and without a murmur everything that their lords decide. Almost everywhere in this part of the country there are high and rugged mountains and it is so cold and there are such biting winds, that from the middle of October to the middle of March there is no sailing.

There are giants in the mountains toward the east and west, so large that their limbs from knee to hip are five span long and if one measures the proportions of their whole body in the same way it is easy to see that they are as large as a Swiss halberd. For I saw such a gigantic bone with my own eyes as it had been given as a present to the great chancellor. This bone which was taken from knee to hip was, when placed at my side, exactly the size of my whole limb from heel to hip. It is said that farther in the mountains there is a large house built like a convent. A powerful woman lives in this

<sup>54</sup> I cannot identify the town.

<sup>55</sup> Apparently "Tescoco".

house and the Castilians call her the "Silver Woman" because she has so much silver. The pillars of her house are made of solid silver.

On the 10th day of August, in the year 1519, his imperial majesty sent out another armada of ships with a Captain Wagelanus [Magellan] and 400 men, to search for this same new land. On the 6th day of September in the year '22 only one ship with eighteen persons returned from this voyage. And Wagelanus and another man named Seranus [Serrano], who had been made captain after Wagelanus died, both perished. Those who returned gave an authentic report that they had sailed around the world and had found in India an excellent commercial city which is called Malacho.<sup>56</sup> Here they found all kinds of spices. Many kinds of spices grow in the other islands, the largest of which is called Meluca.<sup>57</sup> It was from here that the Portuguese brought the spices to Calicut and from there to Lysebona. Now this has been found and authentically reported. Thus his imperial majesty should adhere to the arrangement made by Pope Alexander between the kings of Spain and Portugal, according to which your majesty agrees to change all of the spice trade to Spain, and therefore establish new shipping, as Portugal has done until now, so that your majesty can carry on the enterprise with less expense and so that Portugal will thus be deprived of all the trade.<sup>58</sup> This last consignment was considerably more than 100 horses could bring to his imperial majesty. It was dispatched as quickly as possible and is now under way.

<sup>56</sup> Malacca.

<sup>57</sup> Maluco, as the Spaniards then called it.

<sup>58</sup> The original is exceedingly obscure, this seems to be the meaning.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Latin America in World Politics. An Outline Survey.* By J. FRED RIPPY. (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1928. Pp. [16], 286. Maps.)

Oswald Spengler has introduced the idea of comparative historical morphology into the historian's over-view of world history. Such treatment suggests many things, one being the fitting into the world scheme of different cultures, peoples, and sections. Hispanic America has had many eminent historians yet no one apparently has been able to locate satisfactorily in the world picture, with the proper perspective, the true position of these nations. Several have indicated the way. Alejandro Álvarez, for example, in his "Latin America and International Law" (*American Journal of International Law*, April, 1909) has been a pioneer. Others will follow when time and energy have produced highly specialized and pertinent monographs. Then some day it will be possible to consummate such a treatment in an exhaustive manner. In the meantime, Dr. Rippy has made a synthetic, though as he states, by no means an exhaustive contribution to the field.

The volume under review aims to meet the need of students of Hispanic American diplomacy who desire "a general survey of the relations of the southern nations of the Western Hemisphere with the leading Powers of the world". The author hopes to "point the way and stimulate further investigation in this virgin field". The result is a well balanced picture, however, incomplete.

The emphasis in the volume is upon the modern period of Hispanic American history. Of the sixteen chapters in the book, the first six rapidly survey the period to 1856, emphasizing and admirably summarizing the rivalry of Great Britain and the United States in Hispanic America. The remaining ten chapters contain selective and summary sketches of French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Japanese relations together with brief treatments of such topics as the European Powers and the Spanish American War, the Venezualean Imbroglia, the Participation of Hispanic America in European Affairs, Yankee Hegemony in Hispanic America, the Pan-Hispanic Movement, and Problems in Inter-American Relations.

The author has stressed clearly the position which the United States has held in the world relations of Hispanic America. Those nations have been looked upon since the securing of their independence as regions for economic exploitation by foreign states. But the *Colossus of the North* through the maintenance and assertion of the Monroe Doctrine has prevented to some extent this penetration. The result has been resentment in Hispanic America and in Europe toward the United States. However, "in recent years the European Powers have gradually come to recognize our paramount interest and have shown little disposition to run counter to our will in Latin America", so that by 1925 the United States was politically and economically predominate in Hispanic America (p. 243). But while our relations may be placid on the surface there are dangerous undercurrents and in his final chapter Dr. Rippey sounds a warning for the United States and suggests a remedy.

A few typographical errors appear in the work. Perhaps a statement concerning Luís de Onís on page 70 might well be modified. There is no formal bibliography but the footnotes contain many valuable references to sources. Some of them may be classed as secondary. The index, though not entirely exhaustive, is useful. But one may well overlook such minor defects for the author has adventured in a difficult field and deserves just praise for his daring.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

University of South Carolina.

*Foreign Legionaries in the Liberation of Spanish South America.* By ALFRED HASBROUCK, Ph.D. (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1928. Pp. 470. Price \$6.75.)

In this work, Dr. Hasbrouck has presented with facile pen a thorough and reliable account of the contribution of English, Scotch, and Irish soldiers to the independence movement in northern South America. Although the title is a little too broad for its contents—the assistance of other foreign recruits is given rather scanty treatment and discussion of southern South America is omitted—the excellent manner in which this more narrow subject is dealt with removes all disposition to complain or criticise. Indeed, it appears that the author has merely sacrificed scrupulous accuracy of title in an effort to avoid what would have been a rather cumbersome heading.



Newspapers, archives, and printed sources have been carefully searched and the findings have been set forth with rare caution and good judgment. With reference to the aid given by the British to the liberation of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru it would seem that the author has virtually written the last word. Between 1817 and 1826 some five or six thousand soldiers from England, Ireland, and Scotland enlisted in the cause. Some of them were present in every important encounter and they seldom failed to render valuable service, although the importance of this service, as the writer points out, has often been exaggerated by the British.

If the title of the work is too broad, there is one respect in which more is presented than the reader would ordinarily expect to find. Clear and concise accounts, with accurate statistics, are given of the decisive battles of the Wars of Independence in northern South America; and illuminating comparisons with the corresponding struggle of the thirteen English colonies are frequently made. In fact, one finds here the best account of the struggle for independence in northern South America which has appeared in the English language.

In matters of form Dr. Hasbrouck has set a high standard. Spanish accents are sometimes misplaced or omitted and the map is unsatisfactory, but the footnotes are elaborate and the bibliography and index leave little to be desired. The book will take its place along with the best that have been produced by American scholars in this field.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Duke University.

*Adventures in American Diplomacy, 1896-1906.* By ALFRED L. P. DENNIS. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1928. Pp. x, 537.)

There appeared during the twelve months from January, 1928 to January, 1929 several books of importance for the student of American diplomacy and relations. Among the most outstanding—not to mention the volumes in the *American Secretaries of State* series—were John Carter, *Conquest; America's Painless Imperialism*, constituting an economic interpretation of American foreign relations; Benjamin H. Williams, *Economic Foreign Policy of the United States*, dealing with the diplomacy of foreign investment and commerce; Charles

Evans Hughes, *Our relations to the Nations of the Western Hemisphere*, clarifying the official attitude toward those countries; J. Fred Rippy, *Latin America in World Politics*, indicating the part played by the United States in the international affairs of Hispanic America; and the book here reviewed—the first to appear in point of time—examining minutely, mainly with the aid of unpublished documents, a small but important period in United States diplomatic history dominated by a few individuals and four policies.

In this work, which is really a collection of separate studies, Professor Dennis has magnified, by showing in great detail, a transition period in our diplomacy which was guided mainly by the skilful hands of President Roosevelt, Secretary of State John Hay (serving from September 1898 to June 1905), and Alvey A. Adee, the prompter behind the scenes on the state department stage. He has shown that in this period the United States was assuming a wider interest in foreign affairs and that policies were moving from the diplomacy of politics to the diplomacy of economics. Yet while this occurred the United States was suffering from the lack of a diplomatic service, the lack of funds to provide sufficient salaries to keep the best representatives abroad, and the lack of popular interest in foreign affairs with the consequent scantiness of a public opinion which might be brought to bear on matters of foreign policy. Despite these facts, and peradventure because of them, the United States was able to turn to its advantage the opportunities which filled the decade.

Four phases or divisions of American foreign policy are emphasized by the author as being paramount in the years 1896 to 1906. They were the Monroe Doctrine, the Panama Canal policy, American policy as to Europe, and American policy with regard to the Far East. Various aspects of these subjects are treated historically in twenty chapters arranged, so far as possible, chronologically. But one need not read the contents in this order. Instead, Chapter I, entitled "America and the World Outside", which is really an introduction or an extended preface, might well be read first, followed by Chapter XX, "Patronage and Persons", which is in part a character sketch of Secretary Hay. For one who seeks the meat of the volume without elaboration of further effort the following paragraph may be offered:

... A brief summary of American foreign policy leaves one almost breathless: from belligerency toward Great Britain in 1896 to a hearty coöperation with her in 1906; from a traditional and indiscriminating friendship with Tsarist Russia prior to 1899 to distrust and dislike of Russian policies in 1905; from aroused anger against German ventures in 1898 and in 1902 to cordial relations with the Kaiser in 1905. Thus the United States had travelled in a fashion that amazed Americans. The Panama Canal was begun; the Monroe doctrine was maintained; territory was acquired in the West Indies, in the Pacific, and in the Philippines; American troops had fought at Santiago in Cuba, at Manila and in China. The policies of the United States were world-wide in 1906. She was now a full partner in the great game of international affairs. Such diplomatic adventures had brought to Americans a keener sense of responsibility and gave them a feeling of power (pp. 15-16).

Much new material has been used in the preparation of this work. Besides manuscripts in the archives of the state department the author has had access to the Hay papers in the possession of the former Secretary's daughter, Mrs. J. W. Wadsworth, Jr., of Washington, D. C., the Olney collection of papers, and the Roosevelt papers in the manuscript division of the Library of Congress. Moreover, much pertinent material has been culled from other sources such as *Die Grosse Politik* and American *Foreign Relations*, and from various secondary references. Professor Dennis has not attempted to exhaust the subject but has treated an old story from a new angle and in the light of European affairs. So far as the relations of the United States with Hispanic America are concerned the work supplements much of Howard C. Hill's *Roosevelt and the Caribbean* (1927), but there are some disagreements as to opinions. Very little that is fundamentally new has been brought to light, although in the appendices of the different chapters some interesting documents are printed for the first time, and some new German-American relations and views are set forth, particularly in chapters VIII (The Open Door in China), XI (The European Powers and Venezuela), XII (The Panama Canal), XIII (The Far East, 1901-1904), XIV (The Portsmouth Treaty), and XIX (The Algeiras Conference). In every case the facts are related in a pleasing manner with an occasional lapse into an informal use of the first person. What has been achieved by Professor Dennis is the presentation of a picture, showing to a large extent by quotations from the actors themselves, the *human* side of American Diplomacy from 1896 to 1906.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

University of South Carolina.

*List of Serial Publications of Foreign Governments, 1815-1929.*

Section 1. The Pan American Union. Edited by WINIFRED GREGORY. (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1928. Pp. 112.)

This enterprise is sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Library Association, and the National Research Council. It is financed to the amount of \$25,000 (*Bulletin American Council of Learned Societies*, No. 9, p. 33) by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial.

There is no doubt whatever that a record of the official documents of the Pan American governments would be of very great value to the growing ranks of students of the affairs of those countries. It is exceedingly to be regretted therefore that, the opportunity having been provided, a more adequate service might not have been rendered—adequate in the sense of greater assurance of performance and of appreciative deference to the requirements of students. They are, after all, concerned with the content rather than with title pages especially in the case of government documents. In the present instance the immaturity of treatment is so patent as to invalidate whatever sincerity of effort may have gone into the compilation.

In the List the twenty existing Hispanic American governments and the Central American confederations are arranged alphabetically. Under each country the *comisiones*, *ministerios*, *departamentos*, *direcciones*, etc., are set out in alphabetical array. Only here and there is the attempt made to correlate functionally. For instance, under Argentina, there are to be found, in the order named, "Comisión Nacional de Educación" (p. 2), "Consejo Nacional de Educación" (p. 2), "Departamento General de Escuelas" (p. 3), "Dirección General de Enseñanza Secundaria" (p. 4), "Ministerio de Justicia, Culto e Instrucción Pública" (p. 7), "Ministerio de Instrucción Pública" (p. 7). There is here no indication in the List of functional relationship.

In the case of "Laws" and of "Courts" the caption used is in English. There are Spanish possibilities for both. Under Argentina, subhead "Courts" the "Jurisprudencia de los Tribunales Nacionales" alone, is listed (p. 2), but the Supreme Court is listed under "Suprema Corte" (p. 8) and the federal courts of appeal under "Camara Federal de Apelación" (p. 2). Of the latter, only four are recorded, whereas there are five such courts.



Occasionally there is an embryonic effort at description of contents. A quaint note, viz., "contains patent and trade mark notices" is attached to each of the *Gacetas Oficiales*. Why this bit of information is so gallantly flagged out and any reference to other more sought after and regularly recurring material is withheld is one of the many examples of evident unpreparedness. Bank statements, budgets, public accounts, foreign trade tabulations are all regularly to be found in these *Gacetas*.

The List in question purports to cover the period from 1815 to 1929, but under Mexico we find the old viceregal *Gazeta de Mexico* beginning in 1728. Under Colombia some attempt at recognition of the historical sequence of the federal body has been attempted. Under Mexico, where it might so easily have been recognized, it has been consistently avoided, with the result that departmental issues of the first republic are carried over to the present republic which is historically entirely impossible. During the Maximilian period there were few, if any, other than executive documents. This same vagueness of historical fact is found throughout the List. In the matter of official publications there are two basically vital factors to be considered which, if disregarded in any listing of these publications, quite effectually deprive them of exactly those characteristics which students value. These two factors are historical sequence and function. Government publications are not isolated, detached, unrelated. They are the expressions of a body politic whose organization is mutable and mortal, and it is only as such expression that they acquire individuality. Historical accuracy, therefore, requires that this mutability and mortality be recognized. Especially in the case of Hispanic countries would it have been desirable that a most particular concern be exercised in recording their official publications. A very real gesture of international potency might at this particular time have been gracefully made with the door so beautifully opened by the resolution of the Havana Conference of 1928.

The List, it should be stated in justice to the sponsoring bodies, in its present form is subject to revision. As issued it is no credit either to the American Council of Learned Societies or to the National Research Council. It is difficult to see just what group of students could be benefited by the List. In view of this present performance it may not be gratuitous to refer to the exceptional organization achievements

of American librarians. That these accomplishments, however, justify the assumption of equipment for similar achievement in the technique of organized information, we have still to have proof. Certainly so long as the expressions of great governments are comprehended by librarians only in an alphabetical sense, we must remain in doubt.

A. R. HASSE.

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Brookings Institution,  
Washington, D. C.

*Spain and Spanish America in the libraries of the University of California; a catalogue of books. 1. The general and departmental libraries.* Compiled by ALICE I. LYSER. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1928. Pp. [6], 846.)

Environmental influences and the historical background have doubtless been powerful factors in developing, in the universities of the west and southwest, an interest in Hispanic-American studies.

The University of California has for many years devoted special attention to this field of research. If the writer is not misinformed, it was one of the first universities of the United States to include in its curriculum a course in Hispanic-American history, offered by Prof. Bernard Moses, and the present catalogue testifies most convincingly to an increasing interest in Spanish history and culture. To the present reviewer, who some twenty-five years ago was intimately acquainted with the university library, the development of the material in this field is astonishing.

The catalogue of the resources of the university libraries is to consist of two parts. This, the first part, prepared by Miss Alice I. Lyser of the Library staff, covers material in the general and departmental libraries. The second part gives the material in the Bancroft library and should be of even greater interest and value.

The scope and character of the material included is clearly indicated in the introduction:

This volume contains over 15,000 titles and nearly 6200 cross-references. The entries cover books in the Spanish language or relating to Spain and Spanish America, including those on Spanish exploration, colonization, and rule in other countries. Books relating to areas within the geographical limits of what is generally known as Spanish America, but which were colonized by other countries than Spain or were not under her rule long enough for her to have left an im-

pression, have been excluded unless in the Spanish language. Of works in languages other than Spanish relating to the Philippine Islands only those dealing with the Spanish period are included. Books on Portugal are not included if not in the Spanish language with the exception of a few on Portuguese authors who are well known also in Spanish literature.

The catalogue is an alphabetical list by author or title followed by a classified subject index in which authors' names but not titles are given. An interesting feature is the recognition of the generosity of Mr. Juan C. Cebrián, so well known as a patron of Hispanic studies, by indicating by an asterisk or dagger the works presented by him to the university.

This is an excellent, well printed catalogue of a well balanced working collection, the evident product of discriminating scholarship. It is a new and useful tool for the student and bibliographer, and an adequate guide to the resources of the university for Hispanic studies. It is not an annotated bibliography and therefore there are few bibliographical notes.

In the author list the form of entry follows the rules of the American Library Association. . . . Certain serial publications and collections have been analyzed; when this has not been done, contents appears under the general title, with cross-references from the names of individual authors where deemed advisable.

The subject-index (pp. 759-840) is of special interest in that it gives a conspectus of the strength of the collection in the different fields distinguished in the classification. History, general and special, covers pp. 763-793; that of Spanish America, pp. 779-791. Social and political sciences are well represented by the authors listed on pp. 795-802. Law takes but one page; fine arts about 5 pages. Science and technology are well represented. Language and literature, pp. 809-831, represent a carefully chosen collection. It seems to the reviewer that a more satisfactory classification would have been to separate Spanish and Spanish-American literature. The increasing attention given to the latter by students as shown by its incorporation in the curricula of many colleges and universities would, it seems, justify its segregation. Apropos, the reviewer recalls the criticism of the classification of the National Library in Buenos Aires where Spanish and Spanish-American authors are given in one alphabetical list.

It is not to be expected that a compilation of this character should be critically and typographically perfect, and in this one may note

some few unorthodox accents and typographical errors: Vaz Ferreira, Charles, instead of Carlos, p. 760; Castillo Colórzano instead of Solórzano, p. 819; Dávilla instead of Dávila, p. 827. Such errors are, however, few and detract but little from the value of the catalogue.

C. K. JONES.

Library of Congress.

*Historia de la Isla de Cuba.* 3 vols. By PEDRO JOSÉ GUITERAS. 2 ed., reprinted, with inedited corrections of the author and an introduction by FERNANDO ORTIZ. (Habana: Casa Cultural, 1928. Pp. I: XXIV, 307; II: 322; III: 345. 1 illus.)

Few countries of Hispanic America have had a more brilliant literary history than Cuba. Down to 1895 the mainspring of most of this activity was the movement for independence, the attainment of which was followed by a lull in intellectual production that has continued almost until the present time. Recently, however, Cubans are standing forth to reassume the once proud place they held, and in the very forefront among them is Fernando Ortiz, the distinguished editor of the series which includes the volumes under review. The work of Guiteras is the first to be issued in a proposed "Colección de Libros Cubanos" (Collection of Cuban books) of books by Cuban authors or by others about Cuba. The choice of the Guiteras history is due, not to any estimate of him as Cuba's greatest literary genius, which most certainly he was not, but to the fact that it offers a broad panorama of Cuban evolution, and thus serves as a good background for the works later to be republished, whether historical, literary, or scientific.

Pedro José Guiteras was born March 17, 1814, in Matanzas, Cuba, of a family in comfortable circumstances. After a university career in Spain, he returned to Cuba in 1837, to plunge whole-heartedly into education. Indeed, this was to be the chief interest of his life, manifesting itself not only in his teaching in Matanzas but also in his writings, including his *Historia*. Accused of conspiring against the Spanish colonial authorities in 1849, he was thrown into prison, but was released a little over six months later. Broken in health, he left Cuba, never again to return, except much later for two brief visits. He was in Europe until 1853, in which year he went to the United States. There he lived, save for one two-year trip to Europe, until his death in 1890, residing in Philadelphia, Warren, and Bristol



(Rhode Island), Washington, Baltimore, and Charleston (where he died). His remains were taken to Cuba, and he lies buried in Matanzas.

It was while he was in Rhode Island that he published his *Historia*, in two volumes. The first came out in 1865, covering the period to the English conquest, in 1762. The second appeared the following year, carrying the narrative to the end of the Tacón government, in 1838. The first volume was allowed to circulate in Cuba, but the second was forbidden, because it denounced the Spanish absolute government in the island. While in Baltimore, in 1882-1883, Guiteras made notes for a second edition of his work, and it is this which is now published for the first time.

While the Guiteras *Historia* belongs in the category of Cuban works revolving around the idea of opposition to Spanish rule, it reaches a conclusion at a time when the movement for independence had hardly gotten under way. This early ending was due, so Ortiz says, to the author's desire to avoid an unfavorable judgment on the basis of partisanship, besides which he wanted the work to be free to circulate in Cuba, so as to be of some influence in moulding the ideas of the Cuban youth. This purpose it did indeed serve, even though the second volume entered the island only through secret channels.

The *Historia* is an exceedingly detailed account of Cuban events from pre-Colombian times to 1838. It also places the island in the current of world affairs—almost too much so, one is inclined to believe, because instead of merely alluding to kindred matters, such as the story of Marco Polo, European discoveries in the New World outside of Cuba, the last years of Columbus, and other events, Guiteras gives whole chapters to them. As an illustration of his minuteness of detail may be mentioned his chapter entitled "Climate and Productions," in which such things as "occejas," "güiros," "guaos," "siguivallas," and scores of other little known products are mentioned. Indeed, multiplicity of details, without much distinction as to relative importance, is one of the occasionally confusing features in this work, as judged by present-day standards. On the same basis one might also criticise its literary atmosphere, as for example in the speeches put into the mouths of different persons, to represent what Guiteras believed they might have said or thought. It is to be remembered, however, that Guiteras wrote his history more than half a century

ago, in accord with the prevailing taste of his day. Naturally, too, later research has corrected some of his facts.

Nevertheless, the *Historia* is a storehouse of information, and, despite the author's love for sounding adjectives, is pleasingly written, generally clear (when the details are not too thick), and interesting. Furthermore, his sources of information are cited in footnotes. Most of all, however, it is perhaps especially important because of the place it occupies in the history of that Cuban liberalism which was eventually to bring about the separation from Spain.

The work is carefully edited and well printed—in every sense a most worthy beginning in the project which its sponsors have in mind.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

University of California,  
Berkeley.

*Our Cuban Colony.* By LELAND HAMILTON JENKS. (New York: Vanguard Press, 1928. Pp. xxi, 341. 2 illus., 1 map. \$1.00.)

The author of this volume has shown commendable diligence and considerable ability, but not that objective scholarship one could wish to see in a subject so important as the one he has treated. The reviewer wonders just what was the character of the arrangement between him and his backers at the time Professor Jenks was chosen to write this account. Did they say "We do not know how this is coming out. Write your book in the way the facts strike you, and we'll publish it, regardless of your conclusions?" Or did they say, "We want you to take this Cuban job and 'show up' our beloved and always wrong country?" The reviewer's guess is that the latter is nearer the truth. At any rate, an indictment of the United States and Americans generally is one of the outstanding characteristics of the volume. For example, note the "bloodthirstiness" of Americans of the '50s (p. 13), their "bloodlust" since the Civil War (p. 13), and the "uncouth nation" of '98, with the inferiority complex, "cloaking greed with idealism and imagination with vulgarity" (p. 50).

The book is one of a series now being gotten out by the "American Fund for Public Service", whose object is the "prosecution of studies into American expansion and investment outside the United States". Two other works in this series have appeared almost simultaneously, one on Bolivia, and the other on the Dominican Republic. The editor,

Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, best known as a student of European history, now makes his début in the Hispanic American field, and says that the object of the series is to "make a careful study of the actual facts [*sic*], in order to find out just what contemporary imperialism really amounts to". One gathers the impression, however, that Professor Barnes is inclined to prejudge the "actual facts", implying a condemnation and including therein the republican party, which has been "to a peculiar degree under the domination of American industry and finance". This remark, the haste with which the book was written (alluded to in the "acknowledgments" of the author and evident in the composition of the volume), and the nature of the comments in the text might almost lead one to believe this to have been a democratic campaign document for the election of 1928. Probably it seems that way, however, merely because the republicans were in power while it was being written. "Whatever is, is *wrong*!" The ostensible object of the series, of course, is "human enlightenment and social justice".

Although in a sense this is a history of Cuba from the standpoint of American economic enterprise in and with respect to Cuba, it is not until the Menocal era (1913-1921) that the author reaches the heart of his subject, while the main emphasis comes on the Zayas period (1921-1925) and recent times. The first six chapters carry the narrative through the colonial period, the war of '98, the United States military government (1898-1902), and the intervention of 1906-1909. In this section only Chapter III, "Cuban American Business Relations before 1899", is of much interest. That is a good summary of the subject indicated. Chapter VII, "Dollar Diplomacy and the Preventive Policy", is chiefly concerned with the efforts of the United States to keep Cuba from taking such steps as might lead to an intervention, which this country wished to avoid. The whole chapter is bitterly critical of the United States, especially of Taft and Knox. When the Wilson administration gets in, the disapproval of the United States continues, but no names are called. Generally speaking, not only here but also in other chapters, the author is comparatively mild in his references to personalities of the Wilson administration, with one exception. That exception, curiously enough, is a certain Herbert Hoover! Chapter VIII covers the treaty of commerce with the United States. Chapter IX, "The Frontier of Enterprise", deals with several subjects: American colonization in

Cuba—in the main a failure; the delay in recognizing Cuba's title to the Isle of Pines, because of American settlement there; the building of the Cuba Railway, and the opening of Eastern Cuba; the Tobacco Trust—chiefly interesting as showing how remarkably little the Trust has profited from its Cuban connection; the movement of American capital into Cuba, from the \$200,000,000 investment of 1898 to \$700,000,000 in 1914; and a fascinating account of that well-known German-American in Cuba, Frank Steinhart.

The author gets down to the heart of his subject by Chapter X, "The World War and Cuba". The main feature is the story of sugar in the World War. Chapter XI, "The Dance of the Millions", possibly the best and most informative in the volume, shows how speculation in Cuba thrived on the newly developed credit, based on the high price for sugar during and especially immediately after the war, with loans on sugar at fifteen to twenty cents a pound. Chapter XII, "The Crisis of 1920-1921", deals with the ensuing crash, when late in 1920 sugar fell to less than four cents a pound. In some mysterious way, not clearly revealed, the United States is made out to have been to blame. Chapter XIII, "Government by Consent of a Personal Representative", is a confused indictment of the United States in connection with the Crowder mission of 1921-1923. Chapter XIV, "The National Revival in Cuba", very greatly overestimates the so-called "nationalism" of Zayas, and treats it as if it were something new, rather than the plaything of most of the politicians that Cuba, or indeed Hispanic America, has had for many years past. The only real value of this chapter is the account of the Machado administration, which went into office in 1925. Chapter XV, "American Investments in Cuba", provides a convenient summary of American holdings, which Jenks sets forth as \$1,140,000,000—somewhat less than the usual estimates. To the reviewer the most spectacular feature of this chapter is in its assertion of the enormous iron ore resources of Cuba, controlled by United States firms, but as yet unworked. Chapter XVI, "The Trend of Policy and Enterprise", is a thoughtful, but not too clear indication of the author's conclusions. The one definite recommendation is for dropping the Platt Amendment (or Permanent Treaty) on the ground that "we need friends more than legal status". Though there is little of precise accusation against American business (though plenty of implied evil) here or elsewhere in the book, the author appears to deplore the fact that



Cuba has become an American factory, at the same time that he goes on to say that it is merely part of a world movement in the battle between "local idiosyncrasy" and "world-wide standardization".

The best thing that can be said of this book is that it represents a real study, with a wide use of materials. Unfortunately, however, it would seem that the author, or the association he represents, is not capable of an unbiased presentation of facts. The main criticism of this reviewer would be that rhetoric has been employed to give a false atmosphere which the facts set forth by the author himself do not warrant. The *same facts* could be used by a rhetorician of opposite tendencies to reach an opposite result. Occasionally this reviewer would query the author's "facts", *e.g.* his assertion that Crowder and the United States forced Zayas on the Cuban people (p. 243). Crowder himself has said that Gómez would probably have won, if he had not withdrawn from the election. Some measure of the value of the author's conclusions may be obtained by a comparison of his views concerning that noble old Cuban, Estrada Palma, and the admittedly corrupt Zayas. The former he despises for his "dull though honest incompetence", while his admiration for the "astonishing political competence" of the latter is frequently to the fore.

On the score of technique the book is full of errors. There is no bibliography, and little or no sense of form in style of entry in notes citing materials. It is a great annoyance in a book of this type to have the notes at the end of the volume. The author's apparent unfamiliarity with Spanish constantly manifests itself in misspellings and especially in misplaced or missing accents; after noting some fifty of them the reviewer ceased to take further account. Generally well written, the book nevertheless carries numerous evidences of haste in the incorrect use of English, *e.g.*: misplacing of "only" (*passim*); "value were" (p. 36); "each other" for "one another" (p. 230); and "announcement were" (p. 276). Proof-reading was not careful enough to eliminate certain misspelled words, *e.g.* pp. 131, 171, 189, 303; or to catch "prerequisite" for "perquisite" (p. 158), or reconcile "nearly four thousand" (p. 286) with "more than 4000" (p. 287).

In conclusion the reviewer believes that a real "Public Service" could be accomplished by some "American Fund" which would engage a qualified student to take Mr. Jenks's references, amplified a bit

by more thorough use of Cuban sources, and employ them in a study free from an invented atmosphere and undue partisanship. Indeed, there is no reason why Jenks himself might not do this, if able in the interests of scholarship to divest himself of certain antipathies "inherited or acquired".

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

University of California,  
Berkeley.

*The Americans in Santo Domingo.* By MELVIN M. KNIGHT. (New York: Vanguard Press, 1928. Pp. xix, 189. \$1.00.)

This volume appears to have been written by a young man, who is not competent, or possibly is merely unwilling, to take a calm, judicious, well-balanced view of a situation, but prefers to seek out so-called "evidence" that may blacken the name of his country and countrymen (assuming that Mr. Knight is an American), distorting some facts and suppressing others, the better to make a case. This tendency has been further stimulated by a preference for materials of a notoriously partisan, anti-United States character. If this writer may be believed, there has never been one atom of reasonableness or justice in anything the United States has done in connection with Dominican affairs, and most of the Americans who have gone to that country have ill fitted their tasks when they have not been downright villains and scamps.

The volume is one of the series being issued by the "American Fund for Public Service", under the editorship of Harry Elmer Barnes, one volume of which (Jenks, *Our Cuban Colony*) is also reviewed by this reviewer in the present number of this REVIEW. The general comments in the review of Jenks's work apply here, except that this volume is even worse.

The main idea of the book seems to be that American investment in the Dominican Republic, especially if it involves landholding, is a bad thing for that country. The author says this in his preface, but does not get back to it again until his last three chapters. Then at length it develops that there has been no real political imperialism intended by the United States and that even our economic imperialism has been unconscious, although the author had spent the major part of his first eleven chapters in an attempt to prove that Americans, in office or out, were ignoramuses or scoundrels, with especially sinister motives toward the Dominican Republic.

The first three chapters treat ramblingly of United States relations with the Dominican Republic down to the *modus vivendi* arrangement of 1905, under which our country took charge of the Dominican custom-house. Two more chapters cover relations under republican administrations, to 1913. Throughout this portion of the work one gets an atmosphere as of some evil, but rather mysterious, United States imperialism. In his first chapter the author correctly states the basis of the developed Monroe Doctrine—that of United States intervention to avoid intervention by European powers—but thereafter makes light of this fundamental cause or omits it altogether.

Coming to chapter VI, one finds that Mr. Knight, unlike Jenks, cannot be accused of any favoritism for the democrats. Indeed, the Wilson administration gets rather more of his ire than the republican administrations, although there is nothing remotely approaching approval of any. It was, of course, under Wilson that the intervention came to its peak, in 1916. Five chapters are devoted to this period, and another follows on the withdrawal of the United States military government, covering events since 1922. Then follow two chapters on American economic penetration, in the sugar industry and otherwise, and finally a concluding chapter, which may be summed up in the author's fear that Americans are taking the "prosperity" of the Dominican Republic, while the natives get nothing but the "posterity".

It seems hardly worth while to go into much detail about the numerous technical faults of this volume. The author is not a practiced writer, and is often incoherent, and the editors have not caught all his grammatical mistakes or eliminated his colloquialisms—as, for example, that somebody was "fired" (p. 90), or that a government was "flat broke" (p. 100). In his preface the author fears lest some accents may have slipped out. His fears were indeed well grounded. The reviewer believes they slipped out in the great majority of cases, and would recommend to this author that in his next volume he accent all Spanish words or else accent none of them. Then much more frequently than now he would employ the correct usage. Possibly one of the most grievous errors is in the title of the book, in which "Santo Domingo" is employed incorrectly for the "Dominican Republic".

One cannot help wondering what the sponsors of this volume hope to accomplish by its publication. It will indeed furnish excellent

material for florid pronouncements by anti-United States propagandists in Hispanic America. As a piece of extravagant muck-raking, it might even have a fair sale—though the reviewer is in some doubt on this point. Perhaps its main value, however, is in the glow of satisfaction it will give those responsible for its perpetration. As Arthur Guiterman has it, in his poem entitled “The Antis”:

“Observe our little group or sect,  
The true, the good, the high elect,  
Who strike an attitude sublime  
Against our country every time.”

It is to be feared that the books of this series, of which Knight's is one, are part of the penalty we have to pay in this country for the privilege of free speech.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

University of California,  
Berkeley.

*Historical Memoirs of New California.* By FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU, O. F. M. Edited by HERBERT E. BOLTON. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926. Pp. XCI, 331, XII, 390, XI, 399, XIII, 446.)

There was no more important agency in spreading Spanish civilization and power than the work of the missionaries. The story of their activities contributes many volumes to the history of the Spanish phase of American History and it is only regrettable that so little attention is given to their work in general histories. One of the many activities of the California “School” of American historians has been to place before student and general reader the material for the knowledge of the Spanish contribution to the history of the United States.

Upon the occasion of the sesquicentennial of San Francisco celebrated in 1926, Professor Bolton prepared the four volumes under review which were printed through the generosity of Sidney M. Ehrman. Professor Bolton selected the imposing work which Fray Francisco Palóu, O. F. M., had entitled “Noticias de la Nueva California” and prepared a translation, thus making available for the first time the most valuable contemporary account of the founding of San Francisco.



Fray Francisco divided his *Memoirs* into four parts. The first deals with his activities in lower California, the growing interest in upper California, the Concordat with the Dominicans which left them in charge of lower California and gave to Palóu and his associates the opportunity to go into upper California to start their new labors. The second part deals with the establishment of the first five missions, while the third and fourth give the story of conditions in the California missions as they developed and the founding and early history of San Francisco.

Spanish editions of this work had already been printed by the Mexican government and privately, but such editorial liberties had been taken with the text that Professor Bolton went back to a contemporary manuscript copy which he had discovered in Mexico, as the original had been lost, and used it as the basis of his translation. Besides writing numerous editorial notes, he translated in an appendix a file of letters passing between Palóu and Joseph de Gálvez, visitor general from Spain to California. The whole is prefaced by an adequate sketch of Palóu's life written by the editor and numerous photographs are scattered through the four volumes.

From these volumes the reader learns much not only of the activities of the missionaries of the time, but also of the mind and character of one of their number. He recounts his adventures and activities and makes considerable comment upon life in lower California where he was first stationed and then reveals the impressive story of the missionary work along the Camino Real, one feature of which was the establishment of Mission Dolores at San Francisco. From 1749 until 1787 Palóu labored in his vineyard and these volumes contain a detailed story of his life and California's history from the former date until 1783. In many respects it is an heroic battle which this steadfast soldier of the cross steadily waged to spread the gospel, the influence of the church, and Spanish civilization. It is a story of pioneering as moving as any in the east and it deserves to be given a place in the annals of our colonial days. Daniel Boone and Francisco Palóu lived in different spheres and their methods varied, but each was working to spread a civilization and conquer a hostile environment, both founded outposts among a hostile people and both, the one with the rifle and the other with the arts of peace, laid the foundations for modern states.

ROY F. NICHOLS.

University of Pennsylvania.

*Coricancha, el Templo del Sol en el Cuzco y las Imágenes de su Altar mayor.* By R. LEHMANN-NITSCHKE, Jefe del Departamento de Antropología del Museo de La Plata. (Buenos Aires: In *Revista del Museo de La Plata*, XXXI. 1-260, April, 1928. Also issued as a separate monograph.)

This handsomely presented monograph is undoubtedly one of the most important of recent works in the field of South American archeology. Work upon it was begun, so the author informs us in his opening paragraph, in 1915, and it continued until the present year.

Pages 1-20, inclusive, contain very copious bibliographical preliminaries, in which most of the important authors, from the sixteenth century to modern times, who have treated of early Peruvian religion, are cited and quoted. It is not too much to say that this part of Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche's book is a model of bibliographical method.

Pages 21-56, inclusive, contain a masterly description of the temple of the sun and of its various dependencies. The author draws skilfully upon the early chroniclers, upon J. J. von Tschudi—whose important works too many modern writers overlook—and upon his personal observations. Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche makes it apparent that Cuzco, under the Incas, contained *two* temples of paramount importance: the one was the temple of Viracocha on the ground now occupied by the cathedral; the other was the temple of the sun whose walls were incorporated into those of the monastery of Santo Domingo. One could wish, in this connection, that the author had said a few words concerning that other very imposing temple of Viracocha which is at Racche, some miles south of Cuzco. But, as his immediate business is that of discussing Coricancha, *i.e.*, the temple of the sun at Cuzco, the omission is wholly natural.

The accounts of Coricancha given by Cieza de León, by Garcilaso de la Vega, el Inca, by Pedro Pizarro, and by Bartolomé de las Casas are examined, on pages 29-34 inclusive, with much care, certain exaggerations present in them being duly noted in passing. On pages 34-43, inclusive, appear valuable quotations from Cobo, Garcilaso, Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, Cieza de León, Román y Zamora, Sierra de Leguizamo, and other chroniclers in which the high altar and its images are fully described. Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche here clears up the confusion regarding the image of the sun which was played away at

cards by Don Mancio Sierra de Leguizamo. He makes it plain that that image was not the great image of the sun, but a minor one, and he adds, on the evidence of Cabello de Balboa, that the great image was taken northward from Cuzco by Huáscar's general, Atoc, at the time when the legitimate Inca was striving to conquer his bastard half-brother, the usurper Atahualpa. Subsequently, the great image fell into the hands of Tupac Amaru I., legitimate inheritor of Huáscar, and it was taken by the Spaniards in 1572 when they captured the unfortunate young Indian monarch. It was this same great image that, if the sub-acid humor of Viceroy Toledo had been honored with obedience, the pope would have received as a gift, for the viceroy was eager to see the chief idol of the Peruvian infidels become a bauble in the palace of the holy father. Making this whole intricate matter plain is one of the author's great contributions to our knowledge.

The four chapels and the sacristy of the temple are described in the words of Garcilaso on pages 43-47, inclusive, with occasional references to Cieza and to Velasco. The four chapels in question were those of the moon, of the stars, of thunder-and-lightning, and of the rainbow. The sacristy, a room some 34 x 13 feet according to Squier's measurements which are accepted by Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche, was in effect the most important of a large number of rooms given up to the use of the high priest of the sun and of his assistants. But it was not a dwelling-room; rather, it was an audience chamber where official business was transacted. Garcilaso tells us that he saw the sacristy, and the chapels of thunder-and-lightning and of the rainbow, but that, in his day, the chapels of the moon and of the stars were already destroyed.

The cloister of the temple is described on pages 48-51, inclusive. It measured 296 feet by 52 feet, according to Squier, who is thus a corroborator of Cieza de León from who we learn that the cloister measured more than four hundred paces round. In this spacious open place were various fountains sculptured out of stone; here also was the justly celebrated garden wherein all the trees and shrubs and animal-forms were cunningly wrought of gold and of fine silver. Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche quotes Garcilaso's flamboyant account of its marvels at length, leaving us with a fear that the Inca historian has let his imagination run away with him. But no, Garcilaso is fully corroborated by two writers who were in Peru during or immediately

after the conquest, namely, Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara and Pedro Pizarro, neither of whom could have had his motives for over-emphasizing the dignity and splendor of the Incas. Finally, we must observe in passing, Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche gives a passage from Lizárraga in which it definitely says that Mancio Sierra's golden sun, which he foolishly gambled away, was merely the cover of one of the fountains in this courtyard. Inasmuch as Father Lizárraga was a Dominican, that is, a member of the monastic order to whose lot Coricancha fell after the conquest, his assertion is important, the more so that he avers that he knew Mancio Sierra personally.

These, in brief are some of the high spots of our author's masterly account of the temple of the sun. But all this is but a preamble to his further materials of which I shall now speak.

The high altar of the temple is discussed in minute detail on pages 56-211, inclusive. In this long and well organized discussion Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche wins the permanent respect and the sincere gratitude of all students of Andean archeology, for he shows beyond dispute that a certain gable-like diagram given us by the worthy Indian notable, Don Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti-yamqui Salcamayhua, is quite simply a schematic picture of the high altar of the temple and of the images behind and above it against the terminal wall of the fane. This picture was first made generally known to the student public in 1873, by the late Sir Clements Markham in his edition of this author's work, *An Account of the Antiquities of Peru*. Since that time a great deal of nonsense has been written concerning Salcamayhua's diagram—one man hailing it as a "star-chart", whatever that may be—and no one, prior to Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche, has had the sagacity to find the simple truth of the matter. Salcamayhua's work was found among the papers of Father Francisco de Ávila and, with them, is now preserved in the national library of Madrid. These two early writers, the one an upper-class Indian, the other a Spanish priest sternly opposed to surviving idolatrous practices, were contemporaries; both were flourishing during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche suggests that the diagram or picture was the handiwork of the Indian and that the accompanying reading-matter was that of the priest.

Through the coöperation of the late Dr. Lafone-Quevedo, our author obtained from Madrid a fine, sharp photograph of the original diagram, one which is much more satisfactory than the reproduction



given by Markham in 1873 and that given by Jiménez de la Espada in 1879. This new photograph is conveniently placed on an out-folding leaf near the end of Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche's volume, in such a way that, throughout the perusal of the intricate and scholarly discussion of it which he gives us it can be constantly seen.

One cannot, within the cramped limits of a review, do more than indicate the importance of such a book as this. It is enough to say that, in addition to examining, analysing, and discussing the various signs and legends upon Salcamayhua's diagram, our author gives us a great deal of information concerning the astronomical lore of the Inca's subjects. A study of the diagram of sundry constellations provided by our author shows that the early Andeans were considerably more felicitous in their nomenclature than were the ancients of Greece and Rome. Thus, the constellation *Haucha*, the furious man, was better named by the Peruvians than it is by the Greeks, who called it the Great Bear (see p. 149). Again, the constellation *Choquechinchay*, the golden feline, was better named by the Peruvians than by our own race who never gave it any single apt designation such as this (see p. 164). Finally, the constellation *Colca*, the granary, was far better named in Peru than in Greece, where the same group of stars was called the Pleiades (see p. 195).

The remainder of the book, pages 211-258, is chiefly taken up with further data on ancient Andean astronomy which serves as a useful supplement to the accounts of the high altar and its images.

To conclude, I may say that this great monograph by Dr. Robert Lehmann-Nitsche is, in my opinion, destined to be for years to come and perhaps for always the last word on the subject of which it treats. Taken in conjunction with the writings on Coricancha by von Tschudi and Squier—to both of whom Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche frequently refers—it is an excellently organised storehouse of all the knowledge that we are now likely ever to possess concerning Coricancha, the temple of the sun, in Cuzco.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

France.

*Bibliography, practical, enumerative, historical; an introductory manual.* By HENRY BARTLETT VAN HOESEN, and FRANK KELLER WALTER. (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928. Pp. xiii, 519. \$7.50.)

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance to the advanced student of a knowledge of the methods of collecting and organizing the material in his field of research. And it seems to the reviewer that a course in bibliography could well be required in university work, especially for graduate students.

The work under consideration has been prepared as a practical manual for such instruction. It may not be amiss to quote from the preface the authors' explanation of its preparation:

In giving instruction of this kind, the authors of this manual have been handicapped by the lack of any text-book suitable for upper classes and graduate students which should at once indicate the scope, functions, and methods of bibliographical work of all kinds and topics, and describe or enumerate the fundamental works through which the student may most advantageously approach the selection of books, whether for study or purchase, the survey of the literature of any given subject, country or period, the study of books as books, and the production of new works of scholarship. . . .

The first form which these chapters took was that of lectures and notes for lectures given at Princeton University annually since 1923. They have been rewritten several times to embody notes, criticisms and suggestions by Mr. Walter, based particularly on his experiences with a bibliographical seminar for seniors and graduate students at the University of Minnesota.

The chapters, arranged in the order followed in the authors' lectures, are as follows:

I. Introduction; II. Practical bibliography; III. Subject bibliography in general; IV. Historical and social sciences; V. Music, art and archaeology; language and literature; VI. Religion, philosophy, pure and applied sciences; VII. Library science; VIII. General reference books; IX. Special bibliographies; X. National bibliographies; XI. Universal bibliography. Bibliography of bibliography. Journals and series; XII. History of writing; XIII. History of printing; XIV. Book-decoration. Bookselling and publishing; XV. Library history and resources; Bibliographical appendix; Index.

The authors' statement concerning their objectives in large part anticipates and nullifies the criticism the reviewer might be disposed to make of the arrangement of subject matter and other details of this excellent manual. "The book is", they say, "comprehensive rather than detailed, illustrative rather than complete." It might seem, at first view, that the chapters on the history of writing and

printing should have preceded. But as a matter of fact practice usually precedes theory and the student is using books in a practical way long before he interests himself in the origin of writing or the evolution of the printing arts.

Furthermore, it would be very easy for any one at all familiar with the field of general and special bibliography to point out the omission of important bibliographies. But, as the authors say, the book is illustrative rather than comprehensive. It is by no means intended as a bibliography of bibliographies, but as a guide to bibliographic technique. The reviewer thinks that titles cited are, in the main, well chosen and thoroughly representative of the literature in their special fields. Possibly, referring to the field of special interest to this REVIEW, the *Catalogo da Exposição de historia do Brazil* (*Annaes da Bibliotheca nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, 9 vols.) should have been mentioned and a reference to the larger work of Carlos M. Trelles, *Bibliografia cubana del siglo XIX*, would have been more desirable than to his *Biblioteca histórica cubana*, cited among the national bibliographies.

It seems, moreover, that the value of the book would have been increased by including in the index authors listed in the bibliographical appendix. It is by no means easy to locate a work in a classified list, however carefully done, and a full index is a sovereign virtue in any reference book.

In conclusion, the authors have prepared a notable manual for bibliographical method and practice, of definite value not only to librarians and bibliographers, but to every advanced student and research worker. It is an excellent text-book for use in classes in bibliography, comprehensive in scope with sufficient detail to be thoroughly illustrative.

C. K. JONES.

Library of Congress.

*The Rare Travailes of Job Hortop.* Being a facsimile Reprint of the first Edition with an Introduction by G. R. G. CONWAY. (Mexico: [privately printed], 1928. Pp. XI, [1], 12 unnumbered leaves (facsimiles), 1 unnumbered leaf.)

This is the second narrative of Englishmen, who fell into the toils of the Inquisition in Mexico, to be reprinted by Mr. Conway (*see* this REVIEW, VIII. 417-419). The facsimile of the narrative by Job Hor-

top was made from the only known copy of the first edition which exists in the British Museum. The full title of that edition is as follows: / THE RARE / Trauailes of *Job Hortop*, an Englishman, / who was not heard of in three and / twentie yeeres space./ Wherein is described the dangers he esca / ed in his voiage to Gynnie, where after hee was / set on shoare in a wildernes neere to Panico, / hee endured much slauerie and / bondage in the Spanish / Galley. / Wherein also he discovereth many strange and wonder- / full things seene in the time of his trauaile, as well concer- / ning wild and sauage people, as also of sundrie / monstrous beasts, fishes and foules, and / also Trees of wonderfull forme / and qualitie./ [Cut] / LONDON / Printed for William Wright. 1591./

About a couple of months after the publication of the first edition, which was Hortop's narrative as he remembered events and evidently without consulting any of his companions who had also returned to England, as Mr. Conway tells us in his preface, Hortop must have seen the narratives of Hawkins and Miles Phillips which had been published in the 1589 edition of Hakluyt. Accordingly, he revised his account which was published as the second edition, also in 1591, mentioning various matters and persons not noted in the first edition. For instance, Sir Francis Drake receives no mention at all in the first edition, proof Mr. Conway thinks, that Drake had made little impression on Hortop although they had been on the same ship for some time when the former was an under officer. In the third volume of his *Principall Navigations*, Hakluyt reprinted the second edition with but few changes.

Hortop sailed in the capacity of powder maker and gunner. He was "one of the hundred put ashore from the *Minion* north of Tampico", because of their "extremitie of hunger". Soon being taken prisoners the band was conducted to Mexico, where the viceroy proved hostile and the friars friendly. Later Hortop and some of the others were sent to Spain where they were tried by the Inquisition and condemned, two of them being burned and the others condemned to the galleys. Hortop served twelve years in the galleys, four years in the prison of the Inquisition, and seven years as servant to the Spaniard who redeemed him from prison, returning to England in 1590. His short description of Mexico and its environs is of interest.

In reprinting the first edition of the narrative, Mr. Conway has done signal service in the name of history. The facsimile was issued



for private circulation in an edition of fifty, printed on Italian hand made paper. So great was the demand for copies, however, that Mr. Conway was compelled to issue another edition of fifty on Vidalon paper. Inquiry brings the following information: the original copy in the British Museum was photostated but as many of the pages of the original copy are badly blurred, the photostats had to be retouched to make a satisfactory line cut. The plates were all made in Mexico, and the type in Mr. Conway's introduction was set in Mexico on a monotype machine. The composition and the printing were done by Mexican artisans in the printing department of the Mexican Light and Power Co., of which Mr. Conway is president. The result is very satisfactory. The volume is bound in brown boards with a vellum back. It would be interesting to have the actual records of the trial before the Inquisition, which are perhaps at Simancas, but these have not yet been found.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

*New Trails in Old Spain.* By VERNON HOWE BAILEY. (New York: J. H. Sears & Co., Ltd. [1928]. Pp. xix, 313. Illus.)

This is a volume of personal travel and experience by an artist in search of material for his brush. He turned aside from the beaten paths and visited many places not seen by the usual traveler. Knowing something of centers like Seville, Córdoba, Granada, Toledo, Madrid, and other places which the tourist generally visits, he had the good fortune to turn aside into the less known routes and visit some of the smaller but none the less famous places in the provinces. In all he visited about forty of these, and although his stays were short and hurried, he was able to see much of interest—in some, the natural location, in others, the architecture and other art objects, and in some, the people.

In his first chapter he touches on some of the well known places; the other ten chapters are devoted to his wanderings along unaccustomed trails. So he visited certain districts that can be reached easily from the well known paths: Cardona, Monzón, Tudela, Calatayud, Cuenca, Navahermosa, Guadalajara, Játiva, Lorca, and Turégano, and various places in their vicinity, making use of various means of transportation in his travels. He has a good word for the excellence of Spanish roads which he found well cared for. Of some of the

places he gives information, some of it historical. Most places he found above his expectations, but a few, below. In most of the towns in which he stopped he succeeded in making sketches, as his illustrations show, and good ones too. He was continuously struck by the picturesque location, the buildings, the people. He seems, however, to have been hampered somewhat by his own temperament—probably the artistic temperament. He was impatient of delay, often not *simpático* toward the people, forgetting courtesy and sometimes, in consequence, not meeting with success in his drawings. At such times he found the people unresponsive because of what appears to have been his own lack of courtesy. He was overready to call upon the police for protection, when certainly, except perhaps in extreme cases, a mere "Please do me the favor" and a smile would have been an open sesame for him. Such an attitude is apt to augur ill for future travelers from the United States. He was guilty, too, of patronizing his audience by dwelling on the vastness of the United States, its high buildings, and other matters that come well nigh to vulgarity—especially when recorded in cold type. Yet with its shortcomings, the volume is of use as the record of an artist who went where people from foreign shores rarely go.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

### HISPANIC AMERICA AT THE 1928 MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The session of Hispanic American history at the 1928 meeting of the American Historical Association, held on December 31, was presided over by Professor William Spence Robertson. Papers were read by Professors Victor A. Belaunde ("Factors of the Colonial Period in South America working toward a new Régime"), J. Lloyd Mecham ("The Papacy and Spanish American Independence"), and Mary Wilhelmine Williams ("Secessionist Diplomacy of Yucatan"). Special reports were made by Professors Charles W. Hackett and James Alexander Robertson ("The Inter-American Historical Series"), A. Curtis Wilgus ("The proposed Bibliography dealing with Hispanic America"), and Thomas P. Martin ("Spanish Transcripts, Facsimiles, and Manuscripts in the Library of Congress"). The three papers are given above in this number of the REVIEW; and the reports will be found below.

At the luncheon conference of the Hispanic American History Group following the session (presided over by Professor Isaac J. Cox), Professor N. Andrew N. Cleven, who (at a similar function in 1927) had been appointed chairman of a committee to consider the question of an organization of the Hispanic American Historical Group, reported for the committee as follows:

Mr. Chairman:

Your special committee appointed at the last Annual Meeting of the Hispanic American History Group of the American Historical Association to consider the advisability of giving the group a more formal organization begs leave to make the following report:

The committee is opposed to the creation of a formal organization for the group at this time. The committee feels, however, that students of Hispanic American History have found the luncheon and dinner gatherings profitable, and recommends that gatherings of this kind be held in the future. For that end the committee suggests the following project:

The annual gathering of the Hispanic American History Group shall be called the Conference on Hispanic American History. The conference shall arrange

each year for a gathering at the time of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association.

There shall be a chairman and a secretary-treasurer nominated by a committee of three appointed by the chairman and elected for one year. These with the retiring chairman and two other members, nominated and elected in the same manner as the chairman and the secretary-treasurer, shall form a committee whose duties shall be to carry out the wishes of the conference. The chairman shall preside at the annual gathering, appoint the nominating committee, and, with the other members of the committee, shall be responsible for the luncheon, or dinner gathering. The secretary-treasurer shall keep a record of the proceedings of the gathering and keep a record of its accounts, reporting the same at the luncheon, or dinner gathering, as the case may be.

You will observe that this simple plan leaves the program for the sectional meeting of the group in the hands of the program committee of the American Historical Association where it now rests, except for such conferences as may be desirable between the chairman of our group and the program committee of the American Historical Association.

As for the expenses that may be incurred in holding the annual gathering, the committee respectfully suggests to our chairman that he approach the proper authorities of the American Historical Association for a modest grant to cover such expenses. In case a grant is not made by the American Historical Association, the committee suggests that the said expenses be met by some such simple method as that of an increase in the cost per plate at the luncheon or dinner gathering.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the committee.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN, Chairman.

Indianapolis, Indiana,  
December 31, 1928.

On discussion, the report was accepted as read with the sole exception that the secretary should be appointed by the National Council of the American Historical Association. Professor J. Fred Rippey was elected chairman for the gathering of 1929, and he, with the two elective members, Professors William Spence Robertson and James Alexander Robertson, the past chairman, Professor Isaac J. Cox, and the secretary, will have charge of the meeting of 1929. The group signified its desire to have Professor Mary Wilhelmine Williams appointed secretary by the National Council.

At other sessions of the meeting, papers, dealing wholly or partially with Hispanic America were read. These included: "Oliver Pollock, Financier of the Revolution", read by Professor James A. James, at the joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held on December 28; "Spanish Reaction in foreign Ag-



gressions in the Caribbean in 1680", by Dr. Roland D. Hussey, and "The Reaction in England and America to the Capture of Havana, 1762", by Dr. Nelson V. Russell, both read at the session on the West Indies, on December 28; "Spanish Projects for the Reoccupation of Florida", read by Professor Kathryn Trimmer Abbey at the session of December 28 on the American Revolution; "The Spanish Contribution to American Agriculture", read by Professor Arthur P. Whitaker at the joint session with the Agricultural Historical Society on December 29; and "Benjamin Harrison and the Venezuelan Arbitration, Paris, 1899", read by Professor Albert T. Volwiler at the general session of December 29. This, as nothing else, shows the increasing interest in Hispanic American History. In many respects the meeting, judged from the viewpoint of those interested in Hispanic American History, was the best of the annual gatherings that have been held.

#### TRANSCRIPTS, FACSIMILES, AND MANUSCRIPTS IN THE SPANISH LANGUAGE IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, 1929

The steady and consistent accumulation of transcripts of documents in Spanish relating to American history by the Library of Congress began in 1913, when Mr. William Edward Dunn was sent to Spain to execute a definite program; and this continued, together with the acquisition of transcripts of documents in the archives of Cuba and Mexico, until the various programs for such copying were merged in the Project "A" Gift Fund activities which were inaugurated on September 1, 1927.<sup>1</sup> Since during this period there was not much current demand for the Spanish material in the Library of Congress—

<sup>1</sup> After a year's investigation, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., gave in May, 1927, a fund of \$700,000 to be expended by the Library of Congress during the next five years on two projects: (1) "For the acquisition (in copies and facsimiles) of source material for American history" (Project "A", \$450,000); (2) "for the development of the bibliographic apparatus" (Project "B", \$250,000). See *Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress for . . . 1927*, pp. 5-9. An abstract of the first annual report for Project "A" is published in the Librarian's *Annual Report for . . . 1928*, pp. 228-237. Readers of this REVIEW may also be interested in the report of Project "B", *ibid.*, pp. 238-250. These reports may be had upon application to the Librarian.

carbon copies were available by previous arrangements in several university libraries—it was for the most part simply stored in bundles as it was received; and the accompanying index cards, which were made by the copyists as the copying was done, were left unarranged. It should be said, however, that Miss Emily B. Mitchell, the efficient secretary of the division, maintained a careful check upon the receipts of shipments and arranged the Bolton and Hackett transcripts from the archives of Mexico. As demand became more noticeable and insistent in recent years, attempts were made at arrangement. The advent of Project “A” made final arrangement, listing, and indexing imperative.

First the author and addressee index cards were put into the archival order (that is, in the order of the archival references which they bore), and the former were separated from the latter. This gave rough author card catalogues by *legajos* and *tomos*, which catalogues were used, together with such guides, invoices, and shipping lists as were available, in putting the transcripts and facsimiles into archival order. All groups such as the “Dunn”, the “Wright”, and the “Cunningham” were broken up as occasion required, so that all material might be arranged in one and the same order as that in which the originals stood in the mother archives. Care was taken, however, not to lose the identity of the person responsible for the copies; and the volumes, boxes, or bundles of materials representing documents in any given *legajo* or *tomo* will be found to contain side by side in chronological order and identified all the copies made for or acquired by the Library of Congress from that *legajo* or *tomo*.

As this arrangement of the copies proceeded,<sup>2</sup> the cards were compared with them; and such correcting and supplementary indexing was done as time and circumstance permitted. The copyists’ cards were discovered to be short of Library of Congress standards in respect to content and form; but the rewriting of thousands of these cards was impracticable; and they were accepted for the time being for what they were worth. Some of the transcripts, also, were found to be unsatisfactory; but these as well as the cards were accepted only for what they may be worth to investigators. (Warning signs have

<sup>2</sup> At the time of this writing (January, 1929), the work has not been finished. Rapid progress by a competent staff of indexers is being made, however, and it probably will be finished during the current year.

been provided.) Within a few years probably the most important documents thus represented will be re-copied by photographic process; and the index cards, also, will gradually be revised.

A great need of Project "A", which was about to undertake extensively further copying in various archives, was a set of archival lists of the Spanish transcripts and facsimiles to serve as a guide for the prevention of duplication of work already done. These lists were prepared by laying the author cards for each *legajo* or *tomo* on boards (properly spaced) with the appropriate title and number of headings; photostating them quarter-size (reduction one-half each way); and binding the resulting negatives and positives in substantial loose-leaf binders. The set of negatives is retained in the Library of Congress; while a set of positives was sent to Spain for the use of the director and copyists there. This set is known as the *Library of Congress Archival List of Transcripts and Facsimiles* from such and such archives in Spain, Cuba, Mexico, etc., the name of the proper archives being inserted in the title to each part. The author cards were also arranged in a chronological order without reference to *legajo* or *tomo* numbers and photostated quarter-size year by year; and this set is known as the *Library of Congress Chronological List of Transcripts and Facsimiles*, which is likewise composed of several parts, one for each of the archives. The archival and the chronological list negatives having been made, the author and the addressee cards were all combined in one card-catalogue, alphabetical name index, the arrangement of which has been somewhat refined and into which some cross-reference and subject index cards have been run.

The Library of Congress has, therefore, three guides to its great collections of transcripts, facsimiles, and manuscripts in the Spanish language. (Manuscripts also are card-indexed and listed by Project "A"; for in many cases contemporary copies exist in the archives.) First, an archival list (photostat negatives); second, a chronological list (negatives, year by year); and third, a union card-catalogue name index. All of these, in so far as they have been completed, render readily available the materials which they cover, in many cases for the first time.<sup>3</sup> They are equally applicable, of course, to other col-

<sup>3</sup> Materials from Archivo General de Indias, Seville, including Papeles de Cuba; Archivo General de Simancas; Archivo General y Público, Mexico; and Archivo Nacional, Havana, have been card-indexed. Those from Archivo His-

lections of copies of Spanish documents which duplicate in whole or in part those of the Library of Congress. The Library of Congress will supply at the regular rates—twenty-five cents for small camera sheets; forty cents for large (rates subject to change)—positive copies from any or all of its negatives of these lists; and full-size or quarter-size negative or positive photostat copies of any or all of the cards in the union card-catalogue name index mentioned above. Also, it will send to an investigator, through interlibrary loan, reasonable consignments of copies (not original manuscripts or contemporary copies) for work in his own city or town. The material must, of course, be used under the supervision of the local librarian and be returned promptly, as soon as the work is finished.

Space does not permit the giving of even a summary list of these materials in the Library of Congress. Specific inquiries addressed to the librarian of Congress are answered in detail by the staff of the manuscript division; and references are given when the services of professional searchers in the manuscript division are desired.

Of greater importance to the historian whose work is far advanced or who wishes to develop a new field are the processes of enlarging the collection through Project "A". Under the immediate direction of Mr. Roscoe R. Hill, copying by photographic processes is going forward in the several archives in Spain; and preparations are being made to begin also the photographic processes in the archives of Cuba and Mexico. Those who desire to secure additional materials from those archives may, therefore, send requests to the librarian of Congress, who welcomes suggestions from all scholars who have definite programs of merit. Specific archival references, detailed descriptions of the material wanted, and convincing justification for the copying should be set forth in the request. In general, all are invited to make their wants and wishes known.

THOMAS P. MARTIN.

Assistant Chief, Manuscript Division,  
Library of Congress.

tórico Nacional, Madrid, are listed in *Spain Legation in United States Correspondence, 1807-1823*, a three-volume (photostat negative) list prepared by Miss Irene A. Wright and checked by Dr. S. F. Bemis for the guidance of a copyist. Of the voluminous East Florida papers (MSS.), in the Library of Congress, only the materials for the year 1790 and of the Montiano correspondence, 1737-1740, have been card-indexed; but special efforts will be made to cover this collection and several small masses of copies and manuscripts in Spanish before the end of the year.



With reference to the article by Roland D. Hussey, namely "Antecedents of the Spanish Monopolistic Overseas Trading Companies (1624-1728)", which appeared on pp. 1-30, of the February issue of this REVIEW, a note from Dr. Hussey informs us that the passage on page 17, lines 19-28, should read as follows:

The crown was to defend the company's trade against all competition, to grant it the sole right to trade with the islands (though this was not to bar the present right of the fleets to stop at Porto Rico), was to give complete freedom from duties to all goods for the company's ship building or repairing, promise absolute freedom for the company's ships and naval stores from requisition, and to guarantee any shares held by foreigners, whether gained by inheritance, marriage, sale or any other method, against seizure even in case of war against the holder's country.

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The Texas Research Bureau was organized in Austin, Texas, in 1928 for the purpose of making available to scholars at a distance the historical resources of the southwest and Mexico. Investigations will be conducted at any point in the region. The investigations will cover the selection and copying of documents, the taking of notes, and the making of bibliographies of available material. All work is under the direction of Mrs. Lota M. Spell, Ph.D., who is familiar with the resources of the libraries of the region and has made many investigations in the history of the Southwest and of Hispanic America. It is reported that charges for investigation will be reasonable. Correspondence is invited.

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Miss Irene A. Wright, who has placed many scholars in the United States and other countries in her debt because of the researches she has made in Spanish archives for them, gives information relative to the present situation in the Archivo de Indias, to the effect that investigation can still be carried on

precisely as always. Any person who establishes reasonable responsibility (any adequate introduction to the chief) is admitted to work in the archives. What papers he wishes to see are brought to him on presentation of a form which he is required to fill out for each *legajo*. These forms are the only record kept of his work. Copying of notes may still be done by hand, but no typed copies are available except to persons excepted under royal orders of exception. Such orders of exception have been obtained by their diplomatic representatives in

Madrid for the representatives of the University of Buenos Aires, the Havana Academy of History, and the Dominican Government, and perhaps to a few others. Persons so excepted may employ typists (not to exceed two in number). Photostats can be obtained, however (whether by specially excepted persons or any others) only by special authorization from the ministry of public instruction. The director of public instruction has announced repeatedly that he will grant permission to photostat to persons submitting specific and limited lists of the material they desire to photostat, providing the corresponding investigation has preceded. It has been announced that it is the intention of the Spanish Government to equip each of the national archives with a complete photographic department.

Definite rules have not yet been laid down with regard to work in the future. Miss Wright has, therefore, made no request to continue her investigations, but hopes at some time in the future to resume work for cultural institutions and for individuals engaged in cultural work, under whatever regulations may be laid down.

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Professor Edward L. Stevenson, editor of the Hispanic Society of America and a member of the Spanish Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences, gave four public lectures at King's College, in London, during June of 1928. These were: "The Geography of the pre-Columbian Period and its Representation in early Cartographical Records"; "The Beginnings of Trans-Oceanic Discovery and Exploration—Christopher Columbus and his Enterprise"; Early Spanish Discovery and Exploration in the Western World, with Observations on the Geographical Activities of the *Casa de la Contratación*"; and "The Mapping of early French and English Explorations in the New World. The Influence of real and imaginary geographical Conditions as determining Factors in early Discovery and Explorations".

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Various courses in Hispanic American history have been inaugurated in Miami University under the guidance of Dr. Victor A. Belaunde, well known Americanist, and owner and editor of *Mercurio Peruano* of Lima, Peru. Among other things, Dr. Belaunde has arranged a special group of subjects on Hispanic American relationships, covering the broad field of the history, development, and world. These courses include: Hispanic American Commercial Law; Banking and Trade with Hispanic America; Spanish Colonial American History; South American History; Hispanic American Relations;

Hispanic American Culture; History of the Caribbean Countries; Hispanic American Literature; International Law; and Hispanic American comparative constitutional Government and Institutions.

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Dr. Franklin Martin, chairman of the board of directors of the Gorgas Memorial Institute of Tropical and Preventive Medicine, whose offices are in Washington, D. C., on December 20, 1928, sent an identic letter to nineteen Hispanic American countries, inviting them to participate in the maintenance of the Gorgas Memorial Library at Panama. Because of the importance of the project and the effect it may have on social conditions, the letter is here given almost in full:

At the last session of the Congress of the United States a bill was passed by unanimous vote in both Houses, and signed by President Coolidge on May 8, 1928, providing for the establishment of a Gorgas Memorial Institute Laboratory at Panama. The Congress provided an annual appropriation of \$50,000.00 for this purpose, and by the provisions of the Act, all of the countries of South and Central America were invited to join in the maintenance of this Laboratory by contributing a certain annual sum on a pro rata basis, according to population.

This letter will serve as an official request from the Officers and Board of Directors of the Institute for the participation of your country in a fund to operate and maintain the Laboratory. Your interest and courtesy in bringing this matter to the attention of His Excellency, the President of ———, will be appreciated.

This international health project honors a man who has rendered a tremendous service in life saving throughout all of our countries—Dr. William Crawford Gorgas. His work in Havana, in Panama, and in various other countries in South America in the fight against yellow fever and other tropical diseases brought him world fame, but particularly impressed the people of the Americas. It is only fitting that his great effort in the field of preventive medicine should be maintained, especially in the tropics, where his achievements were noteworthy.

In order that you may have an understanding of the plans of the Memorial and certain data relative to the Laboratory, I respectfully present the following:

(1) Organization: After the death of General Gorgas his friends established in Washington, D. C., the Gorgas Memorial Institute of Tropical and Preventive Medicine. This organization is incorporated under the laws of the State of Delaware, and by its By-Laws the President of the United States is Honorary President. Other officers include not only very prominent scientists, surgeons, and leading citizens, but the heads of the departments of the Army, Navy and Public Health.

(2) The Board of Scientific Directors: The research of the Memorial to be undertaken in Panama is under the supervision and direction of a Board of Scientific Directors, as provided for in the articles of incorporation. The mem-

bers of this Board are as follows: Dr. C. C. Bass, Tulane University, New Orleans; Captain Charles S. Butler, U. S. Navy, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Bowman C. Crowell, American College of Surgeons, Chicago; Dr. W. G. McCallum, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore; Dr. W. G. McCoy, U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.; Lt. Col. J. F. Siler, U. S. Army, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Richard P. Strong, Harvard University, Boston.

(3) Purpose: The Gorgas Memorial Laboratory in Panama will devote its studies and research to the field of tropical medicine, seeking new scientific data, and based on its findings, give to the various countries contributing, and to the world, the results of its efforts.

(4) The coöperation of Panama: In the purpose of coöperating with the Memorial, and to provide the necessary buildings to house the Laboratory, the Government of Panama has officially turned over an attractive building for this purpose. This magnificent structure is to be available for Laboratory purposes over a period of three years, or until such a time as permanent quarters shall be established.

(5) Representation: All countries contributing to the maintenance of the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory are entitled to representation on the Board or Council directing its administration. All such representation shall be based on actual respective contributions from the various countries.

(6) Cost per Country: The United States' appropriation is an annual one of \$50,000.00. It is asked that the other nations of South and Central America shall contribute a total of \$37,500.00 each year, this amount to be pro rata on the basis of population. On this basis the annual appropriation requested from [name of country] is [amount].

(7) .....

(8) The Director of Laboratory: The Scientific Board has selected Dr. Herbert C. Clark, an outstanding scientist in tropical medicine, as the Director and administration officer in charge of the Laboratory. He will assume his duties on January 1, 1929, taking up his residence in Panama.

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## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

### HISPANIC AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY AND THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS PROJECT B

The Sixth International Conference of American States, held at Havana, recognized that "the organization of bibliography for the American Continent is a greatly felt need" for intellectual progress in America, and as "a bond of union among all the nations of America". It charged the Pan American Union with assembling a technical commission of expert bibliographers and with the duty of putting into operation whatever plan of inter-American coöperation for this purpose should be suggested by the commission.

The Pan American Union in organizing the commission and preparing for its meeting has provided first for a general survey of the bibliographical situation in each of the nations of the Union.

The survey of the situation in the United States of North America developed the fact that the needs of its own bibliography, in most of the immediate practical elements wanted in order to give information as to its resources to the other nations of the union, was already well supplied, in process or provided for, while, on the other hand, a need of practical means of information as to the authors, publications, book trade, and libraries of Hispanic American countries was being keenly felt here on account of the remarkable and increasing growth of the interest in Hispanic American books in the libraries of the United States. The main thing for all concerned to concentrate on first seemed obviously a comprehensive Hispanic American bibliography conducted nationally, but in which the bibliographers of the United States having a lighter task of their own, might be expected to give some special coöperative aid and perhaps assume the general continental or overhead aspects.

Further canvassing of the situation by the director general of the Union, with the advisory bibliographical committee of the Union and with the technical coöperating committee of the United States, developed the fact that the Library of Congress, through its Project B, supported by a gift of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was gathering

bibliographical material on a large scale, so far as this exists in the libraries of English-speaking North America, and might be able to make a large contribution to the material necessary for producing an Hispanic American bibliography, simply by pressing this aspect of Project B first and keeping the material for the present in a separate system instead of filing into the general collection.

The work of the Library of Congress Project B includes as its first two operations a union catalogue and a list of special collections in North American libraries.

The union catalogue aims to give the location in some North American library of some one copy of every book which may be wanted for purposes of learning. It now numbers about five million locations of perhaps four million titles, and expects to add two million locations a year at least for the next two or three years.

The list of special collections, as its name implies, aims to form a kind of directory of the most highly specialized collections on all matters of learning. At present it includes about five thousand special libraries, or special collections in larger libraries. About ninety of these are on Hispanic America, under the headings of Latin-America, Spanish-America, Hispanic-America, Central America, South America, Mexico, Brazil, and other individual states or regions.

It was obvious that by pushing these operations on these two lines position of the Hispanic American republics with special reference to their relations with the United States. Courses have also been added under Dr. Belaunde and others offering intensive training for vigorously as part of the preparation for the all-American bibliographical conference, it would be possible to get together a very large body of material which would be of service to each of the nations in working out its national bibliography and would be especially valuable for the expert commission as a basis on which to work out its plan and methods. It was therefore agreed by the Library of Congress that it would act promptly and vigorously, within the limits of its trust, to produce as serviceable results as possible for the use of the conference and for the national committees after the recommendations of the conference of experts have been formulated.

Cards have so far been gathered or provided for to the number of perhaps one hundred thousand titles and the work is going on steadily.

The coöperation of those interested in Hispanic American studies is desired by the coöperating committee in order to reveal any special groups of books in the libraries and to assist the administration of Project B in the study of these collections. The location of any groups, even small ones, is desired if they contain a certain number of unusual titles. Such information will be of little use unless the approximate number of volumes or titles is given but any indications of a considerable amount will be followed up at once by the Library of Congress and all likely suggestions are therefore urgently desired. Address Library of Congress, Project B.

The development of this work so far has been full of interest and suggestion, *e.g.*, as to a need and possibility of beginning at once a registry of special collections in Hispanic American nations, and even of introducing into the Library of Congress catalogue the titles of the Hispanic American books in Hispanic American libraries, so far as they are not to be found in North American centers. Something of this sort is plainly called for by the demand and should probably somehow be developed. The general situation as indicated by the European union catalogues and the recommendation of the committee on intellectual coöperation of the League of Nations suggests especially the development of union catalogues similar to that of the Library of Congress in each of the American nations for the libraries of each country, and some central Union catalogue, or catalogues, including one or two copies of all the titles of all the nations of America.

For the present the Library of Congress and the coöperating committee must of course act well within their means and the purposes for which the means were designated, but the prospect of a very large body of material, kept for the present as a collection of Hispanic American material and in national alphabets, contributory to the Pan American Union plans, and gathered before the meeting of the conference, is very encouraging.

ERNEST CUSHING RICHARDSON.

Consultant in Bibliography and Research,  
Library of Congress.

## REPORT ON THE PROPOSED CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY DEALING WITH HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORY

It would be superfluous and unwise at this time to enumerate the advantages of, and the desirability for, a critical bibliography of works in all languages dealing with Hispanic America. However, one might well begin by acknowledging that the task proposed is stupendous, and in difficulty and magnitude even beyond all original conceptions of its instigator. But the goal to be reached makes the attempt at consummation well worth the necessary coöperative effort.

In the summer of 1927, several conversations with Messrs. James A. Robertson and C. K. Jones resulted in planning for a preliminary survey of the feasibility of compiling, through the coöperation of scholars in the United States and abroad, a critical bibliography of all books dealing with Hispanic American History written in the chief languages. Accordingly, in the fall of 1927, the writer undertook to correspond with individuals in the United States, Europe, and Hispanic America. The responses, which were enthusiastic and favorable, included several suggestions as to the organization and classification of subject matter. The immediate result was the formulation of a circular letter which was sent, during the spring and early summer months of the present year, to all known persons in the United States willing and able to coöperate in the undertaking. This letter indicated a tentative arrangement of topics for bibliographical research and asked that the recipient suggest in some detail the subject and period in which he or she would be willing to work and the language or languages which could be used.

Of the 135 individuals to whom this letter was sent 83 replied and 58 definitely and gladly promised assistance. None of these letters were sent to foreign scholars because it was believed advisable to ascertain first the sentiment of workers in the United States since in the last analysis the responsibility for the success of the plan rests on them.

After classifying the replies according to fields or parts of fields in which assistance was offered, the next step was the organization of an editorial staff. Consequently, throughout the past summer months, correspondence was carried on with several persons in the United States asking their assistance as section editors or as advisory



editors. The response to this appeal, made to busy men and women, has been most gratifying. At the present time the following advisory editors have agreed to serve: Dr. James A. Robertson, Miss Irene A. Wright, who has aided so many of us in the Spanish archives, Professor Herbert E. Bolton, and Mr. John T. Vance, Jr., of the Law Library of the Library of Congress. The section editors are: Mr. C. K. Jones of the Library of Congress, Mr. Charles E. Babcock, librarian, Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union, Mr. Philip A. Means, whose first extensive contribution on Andean bibliography has recently appeared, Dr. James B. Childs, chief of the Division of Documents of the Library of Congress, and Professors J. Lloyd Mecham of Texas, P. A. Martin of Stanford, W. S. Robertson of Illinois, Charles E. Chapman of California, N. Andrew N. Cleven of Pittsburgh, I. J. Cox of Northwestern, and Sturgis E. Leavitt of North Carolina. A committee to assist the managing editor consists of Dr. James A. Robertson, C. K. Jones, Dr. Ernest C. Richardson, consultant in bibliography and research of the Library of Congress, and Dr. Herman H. B. Meyer, president of the Bibliographical Society of America.

Two section editors are yet to be found, but it is expected that within a month these positions will be filled. To date each section editor has been furnished with the names of all persons willing to assist in his particular section. As other names are received they will be forwarded to the proper editor.

While plans for the present critical bibliography were maturing a second project was formulated by the Sixth International Conference of American States which met at Havana early in 1928. Its resolution on continental bibliography was as follows:

[Since this resolution was printed in this REVIEW in November, 1928 (p. 570), it is not reprinted here.—Ed.]

In partial fulfillment of this resolution, the governing board of the Pan American Union, at a meeting held on May 2, 1928, authorized the appointment of an advisory committee. On this body Dr. L. S. Rowe, director general of the Pan American Union, appointed Messrs. Herman H. B. Meyer (chairman), Ernest C. Richardson, C. K. Jones, James A. Robertson, W. R. Shepherd, Charles E. Babcock, and A. Curtis Wilgus. The first meeting of the committee was held on May 18. Among other matters it was decided to draft tenta-

tive topics for a proposed agenda. At the second meeting on June 20, the plan of the present proposed critical bibliography was discussed, and it was agreed to add it as topic (number 2) of the agenda. It was further decided to make the proposed critical bibliography the subject of a circular letter to be sent to the technical coöperating committees in the several Hispanic American states. Moreover, the committee suggested a revision of the "General Statements" concerning the bibliography which had been previously compiled. When this was effected the plan of the proposed bibliography was outlined as follows (revised circular):

[For points 1, 2, and 3, see this REVIEW for November, 1928, p. 574.—Ed.]

4. No publishing arrangements will be definitely made until an editorial staff is formed, since most publishers desire this information in advance of contract. Likewise the question of compensation will be postponed.

5. [See this REVIEW for November, 1928, p. 574.—Ed.]

6. For editorial and research purposes the whole field of Hispanic American history is divided tentatively (subject to modification by the editorial staff) into the following sections under the supervision of section editors: Historical and Bibliographical Introduction; Pre-Colonial and Pre-Columbian Backgrounds; Discovery, Settlement, and Colonial Organization by the Spanish and Portuguese Governments; Spanish Colonies under the Hapsburgs; Spanish Colonies under the Bourbons; Colonial Brazil; Revolution for Independence; Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay since 1824; Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay since 1824; Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies since 1824; International Relations; Hispanic American Literature, Music, and Art; Hispanic American Law, Legal Literature, and Official Publications.

7. The number of volumes represented by each of these sections will be determined by the editorial staff.

8. The task of each section editor will be, in general, to arrange for the collection of bibliographical data and to organize the material submitted by the several persons collecting data in his section. A number of prominent bibliographers abroad will be associated with each section editor to form a bibliographical committee of which the latter shall be chairman.

9. The advisory editors will be available for advice and aid whenever called upon by the various section editors and by persons collecting bibliographical data, and will supervise the final arrangement of subject matter by volumes.

10. The managing editor, assisted by a committee of four, will, in general, oversee the work of investigation, correlation of critical data, and publication of volumes.

11. All volumes published will be as nearly uniform regarding format as is practicable. Each volume will be complete within itself and duplication of data will be eliminated by cross-references. Critical notes to each title will be printed in English, Spanish, and Portuguese.

12. All persons able and willing are asked to coöperate in this undertaking. THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW and the *Bulletin* of the Pan American Union will be the media for the publication of information regarding the progress of the plan.

In view of the facts outlined it is clear that there now exists a close relationship between the present plan and the contemplated critical bibliography of the Havana Conference in that the critical bibliography has been made a part of the proposed agenda. If the agenda is adopted by the general bibliographical conference provided for by the Sixth International Conference of American States it is apparent that our critical bibliography has lost its status as an independent project but at the same time it has assumed a much more to be desired position as a part of an almost hemisphere-wide project to be undertaken at the orders of the coming Pan American bibliographical conference. Our plan thus gains support little dreamed of at the time of its inception.

Under the circumstances there seems no reason why critical bibliographical research should not be commenced within the coming year. Meanwhile the editorial staff will be completed by the naming of co-operating bibliographers abroad. Correspondence is earnestly invited from all persons who have assistance or suggestions to offer. The cornerstone of success in this undertaking lies in coöperation. May we all work together. *Fortes Fortuna Adjuvet.*

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

University of South Carolina.

Indianapolis, December 31, 1928.

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### THE INTER-AMERICAN HISTORICAL SERIES

At the Bolivarian Commemorative Congress, held at Panama, in 1926, Professor Charles Wilson Hackett, one of the two commissioners for the United States at that convention, after consultation with other scholars of the United States, proposed the publication in the United States of a series of volumes to be known collectively as the "Bolivarian Series". Briefly, the series was to consist of the translation into English of that volume for each country, written in each case preferably by a national of the country, which best delineates the history of the country, and which has the stamp of approval of the higher institutions of learning and of reputable scholars.

The publication of such a series was favored unanimously by the congress. At the ensuing meeting of the American Historical Association in December, 1926, Professor Hackett reported the matter to the Hispanic American Group of the Association, and recommended its consideration by the group. That body voted unanimously that a series of the nature proposed was highly desirable and appointed a committee to study the matter and report at the meeting of the American Historical Association in 1927.

During the year 1927, under the chairmanship of Professor Hackett, the committee considered the matter fully, and took various measures looking toward its consummation. At the meeting in 1927, report of progress—and very decided progress—was made. Quite naturally, the three main problems confronting the committee were:

1. The consent of scholars in the field of Hispanic American history—all of them busy men and women—to participate in the translating and editing of the volumes of the series.
2. The choice of works to be translated and edited.
3. The finding of the sinews of war—finances—in order that the series might be published.

The first two problems were fairly definitively solved during the year. The third was the crux of the whole matter. It is easy enough to find money for monuments and stadiums and many other projects in our complex modern life that bulk large in this jazzy age; but for projects involving the quiet exercise of scholarship—aye, there's the rub!

At the 1927 meeting, it was agreed to change the title of the series from "Bolivarian Historical" to "Inter-American Historical Series", as the latter designation with its wider connotation, expresses more clearly the aims of the series. Scholars who have agreed to participate in the translating and editing of the series and the countries chosen by them are: William Spence Robertson, Argentina; Percy A. Martin, Brazil; N. Andrew N. Cleven, Central America; Isaac Joslin Cox, Chile; J. Fred Rippy, Colombia; Charles W. Chapman, Cuba; Arthur S. Aiton, Dominican Republic and Haiti; W. H. Callcott, Ecuador; Herbert Ingram Priestley, Mexico; Mary Wilhelmine Williams, Paraguay; W. W. Pierson, Jr., Peru; Charles W. Hackett, Uruguay; Alfred Hasbrouck, Venezuela; and Herbert Eugene Bolton, Hispanic American Synthesis. Books definitively selected are as



follows: Argentina, Ricardo Levene, *Lecciones de Historia Argentina*, 2 vols.; Brazil, João Ribeiro, *Historia do Brasil*; Chile, Luis Galdames, *Estudio de Historia de Chile*; Colombia, J. M. Henao and G. Arrubla, *Historia de Colombia*, 2 vols.; Cuba, Vidal Morales (revised by Carlos de la Torre), *Manual de Historia de Cuba*; Mexico, Luis Pérez Verdia, *Compendio de la Historia de México*; Paraguay, C. Báez, *Resumen de la Historia de Paraguay* (new ed.); Peru, Carlos Wiesse, *Historia del Peru*, 4 vols.; Uruguay, E. Perret, *Ensayo de Historia Patria*; Venezuela, Eloy González, *Historia de Venezuela*; Hispanic American Synthesis, Carlos Navarro y Lamarca, *Compendio de Historia general de América*, 2 vols. Choice of the remaining volumes will be definitely made within a short time. The advisability of having separate volumes for the Dominican Republic and for Haiti is now being considered.

At the 1927 meeting, it was agreed that the series should terminate with an historical atlas of Hispanic America. It is a pleasure to report that Professor William R. Shepherd has expressed his great interest in this atlas and his willingness to consider assuming the editorial responsibility for it. In its compilation, the coöperation of the American Geographical Society of New York has been assured. The contributions of that organization to the geography of Hispanic America are important, numerous, and widely known, and its collections of the maps of Hispanic America is the largest in existence. Mr. Platt of that institution has signified his willingness to coöperate actively with the Hispanic American group in the compilation of the atlas, and Dr. C. O. Paullin, who has recently completed that stupendous idea and vast undertaking inspired by Dr. Jameson, the "Historical Atlas of the United States", has agreed to lend his advice and give the benefit of his experience. Other scholars as well have become interested in this undertaking and have promised coöperation and counsel, not only for the atlas but for the entire series. Among these may be mentioned Dr. Constantine Maguire, whose knowledge of, and work in, matters pertaining to Hispanic America, has been so extensive.

So far, so good. We must infallibly come back to "filthy lucre". Money makes the mare go, and printing nowadays, alas, is expensive. Historical workers are almost invariably poor in purse. However, while those interested in the project were wondering whom they might

"touch", a ray of light came suddenly. The energetic manager of the North Carolina University Press, W. T. Couch, who has his ear close to the ground for new undertakings by scholars of the United States, heard of the proposed series, and with his characteristic directness proceeded to obtain more information relative to the plan. It appealed to him so strongly that, prudently and without committing his press, he thought that perhaps with a subvention the series might profitably—profitably for the world of scholarship be it said, but scarcely profitably in a monetary sense—be realized.

Mr. Couch has not been idle. The Hispanic American Historical Group owes him a debt of gratitude that can never be repaid. He has circularized a great many regions. The result has been beyond all expectation. Within the past year, he has received about 500 bona fide advance orders for the series, and promises of others. If a subvention to help pay the expenses of the work be received, it will be due to Mr. Couch, for he has extended his efforts into this field.

The response has been so spontaneous, so effective, that the North Carolina Press has determined to begin the realization of the project, and it is hoped that within the year of 1929, the first volume or volumes of the series will be published. The scholars who have agreed to translate and edit the volumes of the series have already begun work. As this is written it is expected that the first volume to be published will be the history by the Chilean Galdames, which is being translated and edited by Professor Cox. The second volume, it is hoped, will be the Synthesis of Hispanic American History, being translated and edited by Professor Bolton, or the history of Argentina, being translated and edited by Professor William Spence Robertson.

A word in closing this long report. There may have been some misapprehension of the value of this undertaking. An incomplete knowledge of modern-day Hispanic America has perhaps led to some doubt of the scholarship that exists in that region. But, let us assure ourselves, and most of you in this room know this better than I, that learning in America is not restricted to the United States. Let us assure ourselves that Hispanic America has historical writers who know how to write history soberly, with an eye solely to truth and who give the critical faculty full rein. The eagle screams in the United States at times. Why should it not do likewise in Hispanic America? There

need be no fear that the books chosen for inclusion in this series will be jejune or unworthy of being offered to an audience in the United States or in any other country. They are serious, dignified works that set forth the history of the several countries of Hispanic America. Finally, they will give us of the United States and all other foreigners needed information as to what these writers think of the history of their own countries. The response to the circulars is direct evidence that the series is needed.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

Indianapolis,  
December 31, 1928.



## NOTES

Professor N. Andrew N. Cleven, of the University of Pittsburgh, and author of the recently-published *Readings in Hispanic American History* announces a compilation of the Constitutions of Spain, which is now nearing completion. This volume will present the constitutions both in the original Spanish and in English translation, with an historical introduction and annotations. The manuscript will be ready for the publisher within a few weeks. Professor Cleven has also under revision certain materials which he proposes to call "Studies in Hispanic American History". This volume will be ready for publication within a very short period. A more ambitious work that he has undertaken will be a volume on "Floridablanca and his Age", and in order to complete this, he expects to take a year's leave of absence to make the necessary researches in foreign archives and libraries.

The University of California Press is publishing Professor Lillian E. Fisher's *Intendant System of Spanish America* and it is expected that the book will appear early in the spring. The work has been retarded on account of the maps that had to be inserted. The volume will contain a translation into English of the "Ordinance of Intendants for Mexico".

Professor William Spence Robertson, of the University of Illinois, whose *Diary* of Miranda has recently been published by the Hispanic Society of America, through the Yale University Press, is preparing a Life of Miranda, which will be published by the University of North Carolina Press. The biography will be largely based upon the unedited material which Professor Robertson discovered in the Miranda Manuscripts at Cirencester.

Professor J. F. Rippy, of Duke University, will give a series of eighteen lectures at the National University of Mexico on the subject of "The United States and Mexico," during the summer school of 1929.



## IMPORTANT NOTICE

In order to facilitate coöperation among persons making research in the field of Hispanic American history it has been thought advisable to list from time to time in this REVIEW the names of such individuals (whether of those working for the degree of Ph.D., or others) together with a statement of the general topics which they are investigating. This does not constitute a survey of all work being done by all persons in the field, nor does it in any way mean that the persons listed have a prescriptive right to their chosen subject to the exclusion of others. It does aim, however, to keep investigators informed of the varied interests of Hispanic American history scholars to the end that coöperation in locating materials may be brought about. It is believed and hoped that if all investigators are aware of what their fellow workers are doing each may be able to offer incidental assistance by notifying the persons concerned of the location of unknown, unusual, or obscure materials which may be accidentally or incidently discovered while engaged upon other researches. To expedite the printing of such a list Professor A. Curtis Wilgus, of the University of South Carolina, has agreed to receive data by correspondence from all persons interested, and to arrange a statement for the REVIEW. If the response is sufficient, and the undertaking proves successful, the plan will be made permanent and the list will be revised yearly or as often as may be deemed advisable. It is suggested that notices be sent to Professor Wilgus immediately.

